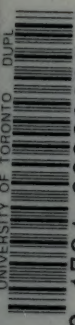


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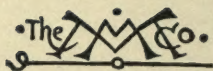




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THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS



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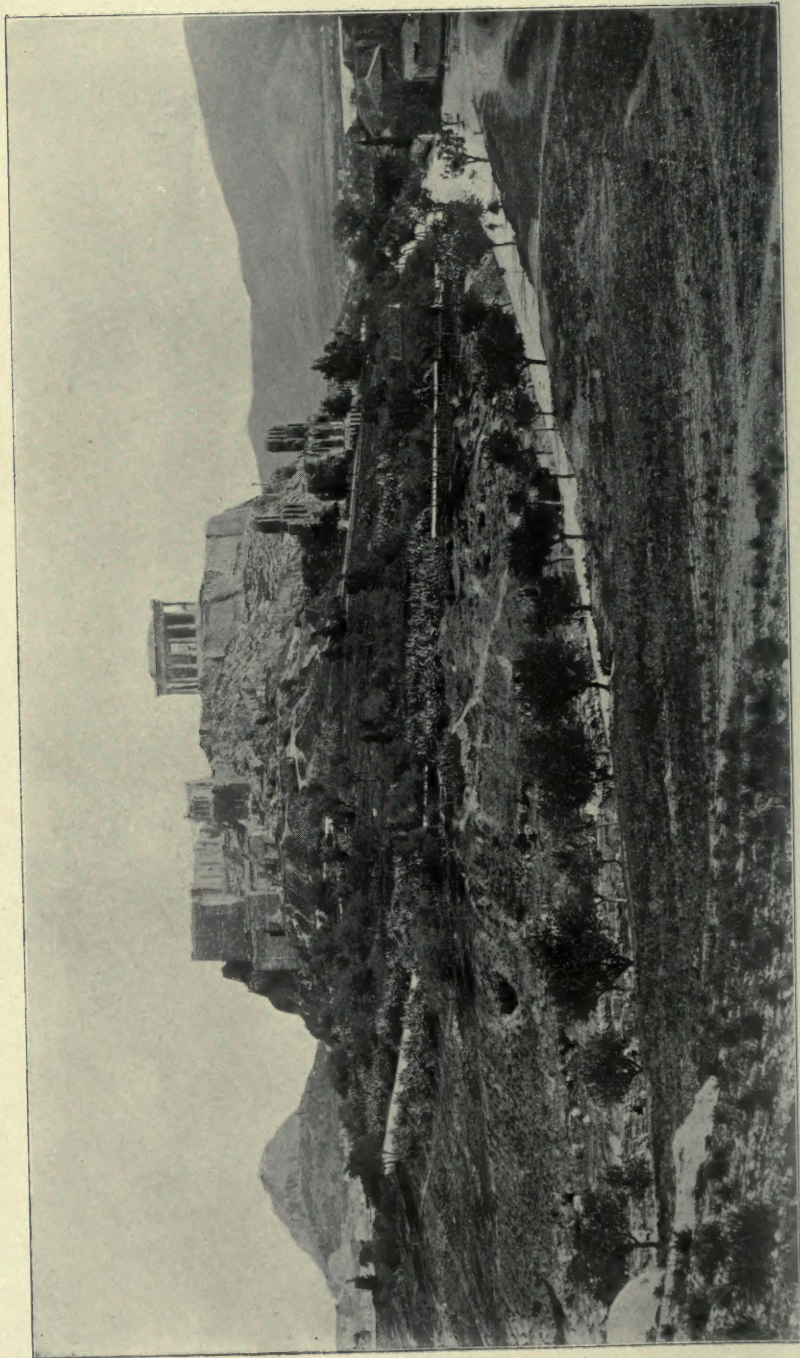
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# THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

BY

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IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



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## PREFACE

THE excavations upon the summit and the slopes of the Acropolis of Athens were completed in 1889 by the Greek Archaeological Society under the direction of the General Superintendent of Antiquities, Mr. P. Cavvadias.

The results of these excavations have been published in many different forms and have become the subject of much discussion. While some of the older problems connected with the history of the Acropolis have by the aid of these new discoveries been solved, others have been raised which await further light. A final history of the Acropolis and of its monuments which shall answer satisfactorily every question may possibly never be written. The present volume is an attempt to give a summary of the most important contributions to this history and to state the results of personal study of this site and of the ruins upon it.

This book was originally intended to be one of a series of Handbooks of Classical Archaeology, but the author found it impossible to treat his theme in so brief a compass as the limits of such a book require. Even in the present volume it has been found difficult to give as full a statement of many points as seemed desirable, and it has been a perplexing problem to determine what to omit and what to include in a book designed both for general readers and for those who desire to make a more minute study of the Acropolis. For the benefit of the latter technical discussions have been added in Appendixes and referred to in Notes, and a select Bibliography has been given.

It was not perfectly clear and simple to determine in what order this history should be told. The strictly chronological order required frequent repetition, particularly in giving the history of buildings, while a strictly topographical order was

likely to obscure the sequence of events. Hence neither order has been exclusively followed, though the *historical* has generally been given the preference.

Since there is no established usage among English-speaking scholars in the form of writing Greek proper names, I have followed my own preference, not always a consistent one, I fear, of writing the more commonly known names, as *e.g.* Erechtheum, in the Latinized form, and of transliterating more nearly the less common names, as *e.g.* Pelargicon.

In order to get a connected general survey of the Acropolis as it appeared in ancient days, and to enable the reader to refer readily to the statements therein contained, I have included in Appendix I. the description given by the old traveller Pausanias. The translation of his description is taken, by permission, from the monumental work of Professor J. G. Frazer, to whom I am deeply indebted not only for this courtesy, but also for the valuable material freely borrowed from the work to which reference has been made.

I am under great obligation also to Professor Ernest Gardner for permission to use illustrations taken from his *Ancient Athens* and from his *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, and for the aid these books have rendered me. From the latter work I have drawn very freely in my account of the chief remains of sculpture found on the Acropolis. My thanks are due also to the Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies and to the executors of the late Professor J. H. Middleton for permission to reproduce several of the plans drawn by him and published in a Supplementary Paper of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. I desire to acknowledge also the kindness of Miss Jane E. Harrison for allowing me to make use of one illustration in her *Primitive Athens* and of several taken from her *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*. To Professor Adolf Michaelis and his publishers I am indebted for the reproduction of several illustrations found in Jahn-Michaelis's *Arx Athenarum*.

But my largest debt of gratitude is due to Professor Wilhelm Dörpfeld—a debt that is manifest on almost every page—not only for the results of his investigations, without which no true history of the Acropolis could be written, but also for his great kindness in reading the larger part of my book in manuscript

and in giving me the benefit of his technical and minute acquaintance with every phase of this subject. While I have ventured to dissent from some of his interpretations, I have been saved by his critical revision from a number of errors of statement. Should, however, any such errors still be found, they are not to be laid to his charge. I desire to mention also the service rendered me by the late Dr. Theodore W. Heermance, who, while he was in charge of the American School at Athens, read most of my manuscript and gave me many useful suggestions. Indebtedness to many other fellow-workers in this field is implied or stated on many a page and in the Notes, but I must single out one or two more names for special mention. My book was practically written when Professor W. Judeich's *Topographie von Athen* appeared. At several points, however, I have been instructed, and in some views, held in opposition to other scholars, I have been confirmed by Judeich's work. To Professor John Williams White I owe my thanks for allowing me to publish in English form the substance of his discussion on the Pelargicon, which has appeared only in the Greek *Ephemeris Archaeologicé*.

Finally, to my colleagues, Professor Francis W. Kelsey, Dr. Charles B. Newcomer, and Dr. John G. Winter, I express my sincere thanks for aid in preparing this volume for publication, and more particularly for generous help in the reading of proof and in the verifying of references.

If this book had not been "a labor of love" it would never have been brought to completion amid so many interruptions and in the face of so many difficulties as it has had to encounter. If it shall awaken a new interest in the old "Rock of Athena," and give a clearer understanding of its glorious history and a better appreciation of its noble monuments, I shall feel doubly rewarded for my labor.

MARTIN L. D'OUGE.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.,  
Sept., 1908.





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## ABBREVIATIONS

*A.J.A.* *American Journal of Archaeology.*

*A.M.* *Mitteilungen des k. d. Archaeol. Instituts. Athen. Abt.*

*J.H.S.* *Journal of Hellenic Studies.*

The other abbreviations used in the Notes and in the Text are either familiar or are given with such fulness as to require no explanation.



## CHAPTER I

### THE ACROPOLIS

#### ITS NATURAL FEATURES AND ORIGINAL OCCUPATION AS SANCTUARY, CITADEL AND RESIDENCE

" Let us ascend the Acropolis itself, that from our survey all the city and the objects within it may at once be in plain sight."

LUCIAN, *Fisherman*, 15.

IN the course of its long and varied history the Athenian Acropolis has been the Fortress, the Sanctuary, the Treasury, and the Repository of the Art of the Athenian people, as well as the Residence of its rulers.

Aristides the rhetorician calls it the heart of Athens, as Athens was the heart of Greece. The beauty of its situation, the brilliancy and wealth of its temples and shrines, the abundance and richness of the votive offerings and treasures here deposited and dedicated, made it at once the most sacred and the most glorious spot in all the history of the ancient world.

The Greeks called it one great votive offering (*ἀνάθημα*) to the gods. Aristophanes (*Lysistr.* 484) speaks of the sacred enclosure (*ἱερὸν τέμενος*) of this rocky hill, and Pindar (Bergk. Fr. 45) sings of the much-trodden sacred centre of the city (*πολύβατον ἄσπεος ὀμφαλὸν θυόεντα*).

Its situation in the midst of the Attic plain is one of unrivalled beauty. All that goes to make a Grecian landscape so enchanting, the close proximity of sea and mountains, the wonderful tints and hues of the "wine-colored deep," the luminous and transparent atmosphere and purple hillsides, seems here to be harmonized and heightened by the added

presence of the works of human genius which even in ruin reflect the wonderful harmonies and beauties of nature. There is no spot where art and nature are so harmoniously blended. When towards sunset the visitor's gaze turns from the majestic ruin of the Parthenon, colored as with golden tints in the fading light, and beholds the violet hues on the slopes of Mt. Hymettus and the purple tints on the Saronic Gulf, he gets a picture that can never fade from his memory, and he is easily reminded of Lord Byron's (1)\* vivid description of a sunset on the Acropolis:

"Slow sinks, more lovely ere his race be run  
 Along Morea's hills the setting sun ;  
 Not, as in northern climes, obscurely bright,  
 But one unclouded blaze of living light !  
 O'er the hushed deep the yellow beam he throws,  
 Gilds the green wave, that trembles as it glows.  
 On old Aegina's rock and Idra's isle  
 The God of gladness sheds his parting smile.  
 Descending fast the mountain shadows kiss  
 Thy glorious gulf, unconquered Salamis !  
 Their azure arches through the long expanse  
 More deeply purpled meet his mellowing glance,  
 And tenderest tints, along their summits driven,  
 Mark his gay course, and own the hues of heaven ;  
 Till, darkly shaded from the land and deep,  
 Behind his Delphian cliff he sinks to sleep."

The Acropolis is one of a number of hills that rise abruptly from the Attic plain and that doubtless have geological kinship with one another. As one stands on the summit of Munychium, which overlooks the harbor of Peiraeus, and looks across the plain towards Mt. Pentelicus at the northeast, he distinguishes three elevations, called respectively the hill of the Muses, the Acropolis, and Mt. Lycabettus (in modern speech the hill of St. George) lying in a line running nearly southwest and northeast and parallel to Mt. Hymettus. That these isolated hills were originally one range is indicated by the nature of the rock, a blue-grey hard limestone with streaks of red, and by the shape of the valleys and the location of the beds of ancient torrents. Layers of marl and schist seem to have been carried away by erosion,

\* This and similar references are to notes which follow Chapter VII.

forming huge caverns and fissures in the sides of the hills. These erosions probably account for the existence of hills and valleys which may have originally formed one plateau. Plato(2) seems to have believed that these depressions and elevations were caused in part by an earthquake. But the more likely cause is the gradual undermining of the hills by the action of torrents and the subsidence of the places thus undermined, a process which may be seen in the neighboring hill of Areopagus. Of these hills the Acropolis was much the most suitable for planting a settlement, both by reason of its position and the extent of its area. The other famous citadels of Greece are either massive and somewhat high mountains, like Acro-Corinthus or Mount Ithome, in the case of which intercourse with the city at the foot is inconvenient, or they lack the requisite height for defense, as in the case of the Cadmeia of Thebes and the Acropolis of Sparta. The Athenian citadel had by nature the desired height and extent suitable for the foundation of a settlement. The Acropolis rock rises about 70 metres (230 ft.) above the surrounding plain and about 156 metres (512 ft.) above the level of the sea. It is precipitous and inaccessible on the north, south, and east sides, where the native rock rises almost perpendicularly above lower ledges to a height of nearly 30 metres (98 ft.). Only on the west side is there a slope towards the valley below, which separates the Acropolis from the lower hill of Ares (the Areopagus) lying adjacent to the northwest. It was accordingly from the west side that the top of the Acropolis was reached and it was on this side that its strongest defenses were built.

In form the Acropolis is an irregular polygon of very uneven surface, rising somewhat toward the east and extending from west to east in its greatest length (exclusive of the ascent) about 270 metres (886 ft.). With the artificial extension of the surface at the south side, which will be spoken of more fully in another connection, the greatest breadth of the Acropolis is about 156 metres (512 ft.).

Originally the rock must have presented a very different appearance and a much more irregular form. Numerous projections and hollows, jags and fissures, especially towards

and at the east end, where the original surface has been built out and is concealed by the line of later built walls, gave to the rock an appearance much more rugged and jagged than it now presents. The projection of the southeast corner is especially noticeable, as affording an admirable bulwark for defense.

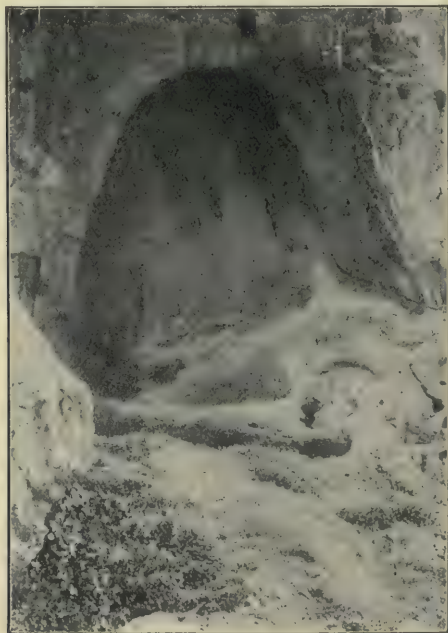


FIG. 1.—Cave of Apollo.

In order to make the hill more suitable for occupation, it was necessary first to level the surface by hewing down rocky projections and by filling up cracks and building up the sides of the hill with earth and masonry ; and secondly, to supplement what nature had already done in the way of defense by building a wall about the summit and by fortifying the accessible slope at the west and southwest end. To this earliest work of fortification Cleidemus, writing in the fifth century B.C., refers when he says that they levelled the Acropolis and made the Pelargicon, which they built round it *nine-gated*. The general shape of the hill and its subsequent alteration are made clear by Dörpfeld's simple illustration.



A vertical section of the natural rock presents the shape of a house with a gable roof. The sides of the house represent the steep cliffs to the north, south and east. Imagine the sides of the house produced upwards to the height of the roof-ridge and the triangular spaces so formed filled in, and we get the state of the Acropolis when the walls of Cimon

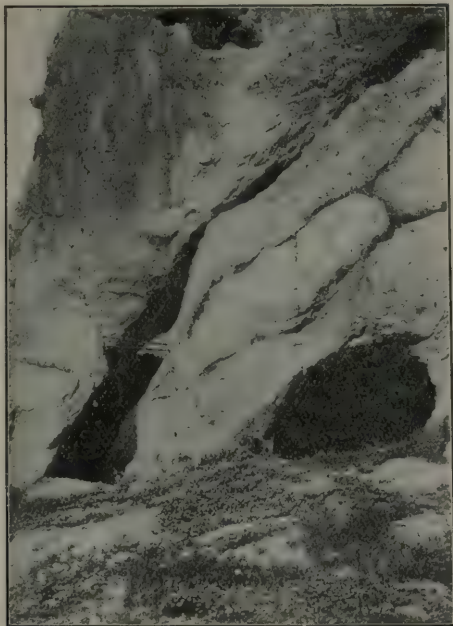


FIG. 2.—Cave of Pan.

were completed. The filling in of these spaces resulted in the gradual levelling of the surface of the hill, which was the work of many generations.

The original surface of the plateau suggested three or four platforms, each successive one a little higher than that before as one proceeds eastward, which were later more definitely shaped and cut and then became respectively known as the platform of the Nike Apteros temple, that of Artemis Brauronia, that of Athena Ergane, and that of the Parthenon.

While the summit of the Acropolis is quite destitute of vegetation, the sides and lower levels of the hill are covered in the spring with mallows, which are edible, and with a nettle

bearing a great quantity of berries. There grows also a plant, especially above the theatre of Dionysus, with yellow flowers and glutinous leaves. Is this the plant, asks Dodwell, called Parthenion, which is said to have been so successfully applied to the wounds of the workman (see p. 283) who fell from the scaffolding of the Propylaea? Plutarch (3) asserts that during a scarcity of grain the Athenians ate the Parthenion which grew about the Acropolis. This plant, now called *perdicium*, or *herba muralis*, is rarely found.

The grottoes in the sides of the Acropolis became at an early period associated with mythological legends and cults. This fact is borne witness to by Aeschylus when he sings (*Eumen.* 22) of the "caves, o'ervaulted, lov'd by birds, the haunts of gods." We shall briefly treat these grottoes and their history and uses, beginning with the one at the north-west corner and proceeding eastward.

Below the north-west corner of the rock is the cave or grotto (A on Plan I.) above the famous spring called "Empedo," *i.e.* *never failing*, also and more commonly "Clepsydra," *i.e.* *secretly flowing*, since it has no visible inlet or outlet, or *hiding the water*, since it sometimes ran dry and its waters were supposed to flow underground to Phalerum. No cult or tradition seems to have attached itself to this cave, though it may have been connected with the next cave east, which, as we shall presently see, was dedicated to Apollo. An exploration of the site showed that traces exist of cuttings in the sides of the cave, and that a clearly defined path is cut into the rock to give communication with the Apollo cave. The inference is therefore not unnatural that the Apollo cult extended also to this first cave. The spring is reached from the Acropolis by a narrow flight of sixty-nine steps of mediaeval origin which descends from near the back of the pedestal of the Agrippa monument and close to the north-west corner of the Propylaea (13 in Plan VII.).\* Recent explorations have made it certain that the Clepsydra was enclosed within the ancient wall of fortification which defended the Acropolis on this side, and which will be discussed later under the name of Pelargicon. The water of the spring is said by some to be clear and sweet, but I found it brackish.

\* Plan VII. is at the end of the volume.



## EXPLANATION OF PLAN I

- A. Cave difficult of approach and apparently not consecrated to any cult.
- B Γ. Double cave of Apollo Hypacraeus.
  - a. Steps leading to this cave.
  - β. Traces of an ancient altar.
  - γ. A small pit or hole in the rock which Cavvadias thinks may be the sepulchre of Erechtheus referred to by Euripides (*Ion* 281).
  - Δ. Cave of Pan, formerly also sacred to Apollo.
  - E. Foot of flight of steps cut into the rock by which one ascends to Z.
  - Z. A little gate in the Cimonian wall through which one passes to H, *scalae Cimoniae*.
- H. A flight of steps leading up to the summit.
- Θ Θ. A long cave with two openings (*ἀμφίθυρος*) from which lead the steps marked I.
  - I. Steps, partly preserved, built in a narrow opening or fissure in the rock, giving an approach to the summit of the Acropolis.
- aaa. Remains of Pelasgic Walls.
  - b. Remains of a wall made of square blocks of poros enclosing a level area covered with a pavement, which Dörpfeld thinks occupied the place of the ancient Pelargicon.
  - c. The wall commonly attributed to Valerian.
- dd. Traces and remains of a Propylon older than the Propylaea of Mnesicles.
- ee. Wings of the Propylaea as originally projected by Mnesicles but never erected.
- ff. Foundations or bases of votive offerings older than the Propylaea.
- g. An ancient road which formed an approach to the summit of the Acropolis.
- h. Traces of a chapel joined to a cave, possibly the sanctuary of Aegeus.
- ii. Towers more ancient than the Beulé gate. Behind these was built later a vaulted portico.
- k. Ancient remains of a gate and of steps.
- l. A flight of modern steps built by Cyriacus Pittakis.
- m. Traces of a mediaeval road for horses cut into the rock.
- n. Traces of an ancient road cut into the rock.
- oo. Stair-way of a late period and steps cut into the rock. These, Dörpfeld thinks, may have been roofed over in order to afford a safe approach to the Clepsydra.
- p. A structure with two chambers and a portico in front.
- q. Remains of what appears to have been a portico.
- s. Foundations of a building with a large portico.



The proper designation of the second cave (*B*), which was formerly called the cave of Pan, has been ascertained to be the cave of Apollo by the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society (4), completed in 1897. Its interior is covered with cuttings and niches which served as receptacles for votive offerings. Near the middle is a niche somewhat larger than the rest, which, to judge from its shape, may have served to receive a statuette with a base. It is evident that when the surface of the interior of this cave was completely covered with cuttings, the process was continued toward the east, until the surface of the adjoining rock which separates this from the next cave (*Γ*) was also covered. A clearing out and examination of this third cave, which extends higher up on the face of the rock and which was formerly held by some to be the cave of Pan, yielded no results. The two caves (*B*, *Γ*) are practically united and form one double cave, as indicated in the plan.

But in the Acropolis rock, a little way east of the cave *Γ* and on a lower level, was found what appeared to be an entrance to still another cavern hitherto unknown. This is then the fourth of these caves, and is marked  $\Delta$ , and by means of a narrow passage ( $\delta$ ) communicates with another cave, or more properly another part of the same cave. This cave was extended eastward to the place near *E*, which was afterward utilized by the Christians as a suitable locality for a church, of which the pavement and a piece of a wall are still to be seen.

In order to determine to whom these caves were consecrated we must now turn to evidence from the ancient writers and from certain finds on this spot. In front of the second cave (*B*) there were found twenty-five marble tablets or fragments of tablets, carved with wreaths of myrtle or laurel and inscribed with dedications to "Apollo under the Heights" (5). These inscriptions belong to the Roman period, but probably replaced more ancient ones. At least eleven of the tablets seem to have been dedicated by archons or their secretary to Apollo. From these and other inscriptions, we infer that the nine archons stood in some special relation to the Apollo who was worshipped in the cave. Mr. Cavvadias, the Ephor-General of Antiquities at Athens, may be right in supposing

that the archons took the oath referred to by Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*, 55) at an altar in front of this cave, for here, immediately in front of the cave, was found a quadrangular sinking in the rock suitable for the base of an altar ( $\beta$ ). All this certainly favors the opinion that this was the cave of Apollo. This opinion is confirmed by an examination of the passages in the ancient writers which deal with these caves. Pausanias (i. 28) locates the sanctuary of Apollo in a cave near the Clepsydra. Since the cave immediately above the spring has been shown to be not the Apollo cave, it is likely to be the next one, *i.e.* cave  $B$ . Then Pausanias goes on to say that here Creüsa, daughter of Erechtheus, met Apollo. But Euripides in his *Ion* tells how Apollo met Creüsa in a cave on the northern cliffs of the Acropolis and how Creüsa exposed Ion, the offspring of that union, in the same cave. And that this cave was sacred to Pan is to be inferred from vv. 936, 937, of this play. "Thou knowest a cave on the north side of the Cecropian cliffs which we call long?" asks Creüsa; whereupon the slave answers, "I know where is the shrine of Pan and altars near." In a beautiful ode (vv. 492-502), the chorus sings:

"O Athens, what thy cliff hath seen!  
The northward scar, Pan's cavern seat,  
With rocks before and grassy floor  
Where dancing tread the Aglaurids' feet,  
Their triple measure on the green  
Neath Pallas' fane,  
Whene'er the god in his retreat  
Times on the reed a quavering strain" (6).

From this passage it is clear that the cave in which the lovers meet was a shrine of Pan. The *Ion* then implies either the identity or the close proximity to each other of the Apollo and Pan sanctuaries. If the cave of Pan was not identical with that of Apollo ( $B$ ), it must have been either cave  $\Gamma$  or cave  $\Delta$ - $\Delta$ . This point may be determined by reference to the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes. In this comedy (911 ff.), Cinesias proposes a secret meeting with Myrrhina in a cave which he calls the sanctuary of Pan. It is plain that the dark recesses of the cave  $\Delta$ - $\Delta$  are much more suitable for such a rendezvous than cave  $\Gamma$  or any of the other caves further to the west, all

of which are too shallow and open to afford concealment. The apparent identity of the Pan and Apollo sanctuary is easily accounted for as follows: The scene of the legend of Apollo and Creüsa, from whom Ion is born, is to be placed in the secluded recesses of the fourth cave ( $\Delta$ - $\Delta$ ). From this tradition sprang the cult of "Apollo under the Heights." But this worship extended itself so as to include also the adjacent caves. In these more open grottoes would then be placed the altars and votive offerings. This was the situation until after the Persian invasion, when, as is known, the worship of Pan was introduced into Athens from Arcadia. Herodotus (vi. 105) says that the Athenians, in acknowledgement of the aid Pan had given them at the battle of Marathon, founded a sanctuary of Pan under the Acropolis. Now the connection between Pan and Apollo is well known. Pan would naturally have his altar by the side of his companion. These caves then beneath the *Μακράι* of the Acropolis, which were originally dedicated to Apollo, became the common sanctuary of the two. But in course of time the god of the woods and caves would naturally have his name more closely associated with the more secret and retired cave ( $\Delta$ - $\Delta$ ). This again would lead to the closer association of Apollo with the more exposed cave (*B*). In this way the references in the *Ion* and the *Lysistrata*, and the statements of Pausanias and of Lucian (7) are brought into harmony with the results of the excavations (8).

Some three yards east of the cave of Apollo was found a round hole in the rock, of somewhat irregular shape ( $\gamma$ ) about 2 metres ( $6\frac{1}{2}$  ft.) wide and nearly as deep. This hole Cavvadias conjectures may be the cleft said to have been made by Poseidon's trident, down which Erechtheus vanished (Eur. *Ion*, vv. 281, 282). A little eastward from the cave of Pan the recent excavations have laid bare a stairway hewn in the rock (*E*, *E*) and ascending in an easterly direction to the wall of the Acropolis. Seventeen steps have been preserved. The stairway leads to a postern (now built up) in the wall of the Acropolis. Inside the postern a staircase of twenty-two steps (*H*) leads up to the plateau of the Acropolis some 50 metres to the west of the Erechtheum. This is an ancient entrance to the Acropolis, which was either kept secret or had fallen into disuse before the time of



Pausanias, who seems not to have known anything about it. Probably the postern was "the hole at the cave of Pan" through which Lysistrata caught one of the women endeavoring to steal out of the Acropolis (Aristophanes, *Lysistr.* 720 ff.). Some suppose that this is the entrance by which, according to Herodotus (viii. 53), the Persians secretly gained admission to the summits of the Acropolis. But the language of the historian as well as that of Pausanias (i. 18, 2) seems rather to favor the view according to which another stairway (42 in plan), connected with a narrow underground passage further east and leading to the cave of Aglauros, was the entrance made use of by the Persians.

This underground passage-way was discovered about seventy yards to the east of the cave of Pan. It is about 33 metres (44 yards) long, and ends in a cavern which is about 4 metres (13 ft.) high. A branch of this passage leads by means of a staircase (*I*) to a fissure in the rock, through which one can gain under the fortification wall the summit of the Acropolis. Entering by this fissure and ascending by a short stairway you land on the summit to the north-west of the Erechtheum, within the precincts of the Arrephoroi (see p. 218). The existing stairway is of late origin, the steps being constructed of marble slabs, bricks and mortar. Between the upper nine and lower five steps there is an empty gap of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  metres (22 ft.) enclosed by the sheer rock, into which probably a hanging ladder was placed. This passage may have been the one by which the Arrephoroi descended on their secret mission. It seems highly probable that this cave is to be associated with Aglauros (9), the daughter of Cecrops, who had a sanctuary, according to Euripides among the Long Rocks and near the cave of Pan. Below this supposed Aglaurium there are traces of a plateau levelled off in ancient days, which may well be the spot referred to by the poet as "the green on which Aglauros and her sisters danced to the music of the pipes of Pan." In this cave undoubted traces of worship have been found, such as a niche cut into the rock for the reception of a votive offering, while in the rubbish that covered the floor was discovered a marble pedestal which, to judge from the hollow in its upper surface, may have supported a statue of half life-size.



There are other historical associations connected with this spot. If we may believe the story told by Polyænus (10), it was in this sanctuary of Aglauros that Pisistratus stored the arms which he had taken by stratagem from the citizens after he had requested them to come fully armed to the temple of the Dioscuri, which apparently was near by. In this sanctuary also the Athenian youth (*ἐφηβοί*) took the oath of loyalty to the state. An inscription mentions a priestess of Aglauros, and from another inscription we may infer that Demeter, the nursing mother, had an altar within the precinct of Aglauros, which was served by a priest or priestess who had a seat of honor in the theatre of Dionysus (11).

Proceeding eastward we turn the north-east corner of the Acropolis and see almost in the centre of the eastern face of the rock a huge cavern, partly hidden by heaps of debris thrown down from the summit. No mention is made of this cavern in any ancient writer, and it seems to have played no part in the history of the Acropolis. Leake and Curtius have supposed that the Eleusinium mentioned by Pausanias (i. 14, 3) is to be placed in or near this spot. But the view of Dörpfeld, who locates it near the western foot of the Acropolis, is much more probable (12). The next cave to which we come is the one situated immediately above the theatre of Dionysus and known as the site of the choregic monument of Thrasyllus, which will be described below in connection with the great theatre. For a subsequent chapter we also reserve an account of the next grotto, which lies on our path from the diazoma of the theatre to the precincts of the Asclepieum or temple of Asclepius, and which encloses the spring of water connected with this sanctuary.

Having spoken of the natural features of the Acropolis and incidentally of their historic associations, let us now turn to a consideration of the oldest ascent and means of approach to the Acropolis. When one looks at the natural conformation of the hill, he is not in doubt that the oldest ascent to the Acropolis must have been from the west. The only doubt that can arise is whether this ascent was directly from the west, or from the northwest or southwest. Since the dip of the rock is rather in the last-named direction, it seems probable that the earliest entrance was immediately below the

Nike bastion, where during the Frankish period the only entrance seems to have been provided. Dr. F. C. Penrose (13) thinks he has discovered cuttings in the rock near the south-west angle of the Acropolis for an approach to this entrance, which he believes was guarded by cross-walls joined to the main circuit wall of the citadel. The erection of the choregic monument of Nicias and of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus doubtless obliterated an old road and approach to the Acropolis from this side. The depressions and holes cut in the native rock higher on the slope (*m*) and immediately below the bastion may be the traces of the most ancient entrance to the Acropolis; they may be due, however, to the later use of an entrance at this point during the Frankish period. At an early period, but how early cannot be definitely determined, the main entrance to the Acropolis seems to have been on the western slope, near to the so-called Beulé gate (to be described later) which forms the present entrance, and to have been guarded by a strong bulwark forming a part of the so-called Pelargicon, of which we shall presently give an account. In the recent excavations, besides the narrow ascent which led up on the north side, under the so-called "Long Walls" (*ὑπὸ Μακραῖς*), from the sanctuaries of Apollo and Pan described above, p. 8, there was found a wider ascent, partly natural and partly cut into a declivity of the rock, apparently starting from a point near the north-east projection of the Acropolis. Its lower end is now lost in the later foundations of the outer wall of the Acropolis, but its upper end terminates east of the Erechtheum, and it seems to have been connected also with a series of foundations of polygonal masonry possibly belonging to a prehistoric building, the remains of which are still to be seen at the bottom of the pit that has been left open east of the Erechtheum. This ancient passage may have been connected with the earliest settlement which must now occupy our attention.

The Acropolis gained its historic distinction when the Cecropids established themselves upon its summit as their fortress and made Zeus their patron divinity. The worship of Zeus was apparently already established among the people who had settled in the surrounding plain. Now the barren rock became the nucleus of a community which dwelt upon the

summit and on the western slope, was called the πόλις, a name it retained for a long time afterward, and Zeus became the guardian of the city, πολιεύς. The old inhabitants hitherto called Κραναοί now became the sons of Cecrops. Here Zeus was also honored as ὑπατος, "dwelling on high," on whose altar, after the most ancient custom, nothing that had life in it but only sacrifices of cakes could be properly offered. Here too the earth-mother, Ge or Gaea, was doubtless worshipped as the giver of fruit and the nourisher of men. This is witnessed to by the late inscription cut into the rock north of the Parthenon (see p. 292), and by other inscriptions recording dedications and speaking of a sanctuary of Ge Kouritrophos and her kindred Demeter Chloë, which Dörpfeld locates on the western slope of the hill.

The worship of Athena on the Acropolis is also very ancient. Homer tells us (*Odyss.* vii. 80 f.) that Athena came to Athens with its wide streets and entered the goodly house of Erechtheus. In the *Iliad* (ii. 546-549), Athena is said to receive Erechtheus in her own rich temple at Athens. On the rock Athena had planted her sacred olive and in her sanctuary was worshipped her oldest image, which had fallen from heaven in a time beyond historic record.

Closely associated with Athena and Erechtheus in legend and worship were Hephaestus and Poseidon. The "tokens" (σημεία), i.e. the salt-spring and the trident-mark in the rock (an account of which is given in the chapter that treats of the Erechtheum) were as old in tradition as the rock itself.

Another ancient divinity closely associated with the earliest settlement of the Acropolis, if not on its summit at least on its slope, was Aphrodite Pandemos (14). Originally a divinity of sexual love, she became a tribal goddess (Aphrodite Apatouros), at whose shrine on the south-western slope Theseus is said to have organized the people into a community. Apollo, the father of the Ionians, whose son Ion was born of Creüsa in the cave (see above, p. 8) in or near which the Pythion is placed by Dörpfeld (15), received later recognition when the Ionian influence became paramount. But Hermes, the old Pelasgian guardian of the ways, whose rude image was kept as an heirloom in the Erechtheum, and Butes, Poseidon's son, had a place and shrine in the earliest cults



on the Acropolis. The introduction of the worship of Artemis on the Acropolis seems to have come later from Brauron, a district in Attica. Ares, Hera and Heracles appear to have been almost the only divinities who were excluded from the sacred precinct on the summit of the ancient rock, unless indeed we suppose that the old pediment groups representing the story of Heracles and the Hydra and Triton point to the existence of an old temple of Heracles and a cult of that divinity which later disappeared. The probability is, however, that this group belongs to an ancient temple of Athena which antedates the Pisistratid period, large architectural remains of which have been identified by Wiegand (16). Among all these divinities, Athena became in due time the chief, though she nowhere crowded out her rivals. As Polias, Parthenos, Promachos, Nike, Hygieia, Ergane she was worshipped and honored at various shrines and under different forms, as we shall later see.

With the worship of these high Olympians was associated the more poetic cult of nymphs and goddesses of the springs and dew and rain, such as Alcippe, daughter of Aglauros, who was overpowered by Halirrothios at the spring (*κρήνη*) on the south slope, and the daughters of the old earth-born Cecrops, the handmaids of Athena.

During all this prehistoric period, the Acropolis grew more and more to be a place of sanctuaries (*ιερόν*), serving also at the same time as a place of royal residence and a citadel. The picture presented by Thucydides (ii. 15, 3) implies that the Acropolis has assumed the character of a capitol or seat of a ruler, and that it forms the centre of a settlement (*συννοικισμός*), which was supposed to be the creation of Theseus, the political hero. Just as at Mycenae, the only ancient Greek city whose original plan we know with some degree of definiteness, the Acropolis formed the centre and capitol of the settlement which grew up around its base and in the valley below, so at Athens the Acropolis became the nucleus and crown of the city which was growing upon and around the slopes (17).

Here on the hill-top, in the glorious light of the sun overlooking the sea and plain and in full view of the mountains, fanned by purest breezes blowing across the blue Aegean or from the rocky heights of Mt. Parnes, the gods had their



bright abodes, and the kings and princes, Erechtheids and Cecropids, made their lovely dwelling. To this holy hill the people from the plain below went up to pray, and here in time of war or distress they found shelter and safety.

Of that earliest settlement scanty but well-identified traces remain, particularly on the north part of the Acropolis, where ancient walls and foundations of prehistoric date have come to light. These walls and foundations, built of the native



FIG. 3.—Terra-cotta Statuettes found on the Acropolis.

limestone, belong in part to the ancient palace of the Athenian kings, and are doubtless remains of the well-built house of Erechtheus (*Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸς δόμος*) referred to in the *Odyssey*.

As at Tiryns and Mycenae, so at Athens Dörpfeld believes a temple was built on the ruins of the ancient palace, which he has identified and thinks is referred to in the *Iliad*. In our next chapter these foundations will be more fully discussed. To this prehistoric period belong also the so-called Mycenaean sherds found buried in the lowest strata of the debris that

served for filling in the crevices of the rock and extending its area on the sides, particularly south of the Parthenon, and also numerous clay images of divinities, particularly of Athena, Brauronian Artemis and Aphrodite Pandemos (Fig. 3), which came to light in recent excavations and which are now exhibited in the Museum on the Acropolis (18).

Remnants of the oldest Pelasgic wall of defence which guarded the western approach and entrance have survived. But it is difficult to tell how much of the walls whose remains are still to be seen belongs to this prehistoric and how much to the later period of Pisistratus.

The royal palace on the hill was the centre of the life portrayed for us in the Homeric poems. Here the elders sat in council, and the king dispensed hospitality and issued commands. Here too was the hearth of the head of the tribe by the side of which stood the altar of Zeus Herceios ('Ερκεῖος), at which the king in his office as head of the household exercised his priestly function. Hence in the later period we find an altar to Zeus Herceios close by the sacred olive tree in the sanctuary of Erechtheus.

In this earliest period then we find that the Acropolis was at once a sanctuary, a citadel and a residence. Sanctuary it remained during all later time, citadel (19) until the age of Pericles, but as residence it continued to serve only during the period of Pisistratus, to which now we turn.

## CHAPTER II

### THE EARLIEST HISTORIC PERIOD DOWN TO THE PERSIAN DESTRUCTION

"And (Athena) came to Marathon and Athens with its spacious streets,  
And entered the well-built house of Erechtheus."

*Odys.* vii. 80.

ALREADY at the time of the composition of the Homeric poems was Athens known as a city, and did Erechtheus, the national hero, possess a well-built palace. From recent excavations on the Acropolis, as was said in the preceding chapter, evidence has been found of what may be called a Mycenaean settlement (20) in the form of house-walls and sherds, which are probably contemporaneous with the great Pelasgic walls that fortified the citadel. Beneath the cella of the early temple of Athena, discovered by Dr. Dörpfeld and to be discussed later, were found two bases of limestone (see 67 Plan) which probably supported wooden columns in the hall of the primitive "Palace" of Erechtheus. Besides these, other fragments of walls which seem to have belonged to this building were found among the foundations of the Old Athena temple. All this verifies what has already been said, that in the prehistoric period the Acropolis was the citadel and capitol of a growing community.

With Solon and Pisistratus we first tread upon historic ground. Not that all the accounts of the events in the time of these men are absolutely trustworthy, but yet enough is certain to enable us to get some idea of the history of the Acropolis in this period, especially when the statements of the historians are supplemented by discoveries of ancient remains which

can with good reason be referred to the same epoch. One of the earliest historic events connected with the Acropolis antedates the time of Solon and affords some information of a topographical nature. The event referred to is the attempt of Cylon to make himself tyrant of Athens by seizing the Acropolis, which occurred in 632 B.C. (21). From the accounts of this event it is evident that the Acropolis was at this period the seat of power and authority, as well as a place of refuge. Polemon (22) speaks of a "Cylonium outside the Nine Gates," which was probably a shrine erected as an expiation on the spot where some of Cylon's fellow-conspirators were cut down. "The Nine Gates" was probably the out-fortification on the western face of the Acropolis, forming part of the Pelargicon to be described below. That the Pisistratids, after their seizure and occupancy of the Acropolis, strengthened and fortified the rocky hill as well as adorned it with temples is to be inferred from all the statements of the ancient writers that relate to this period. The patron divinity of the city, Athena, was believed to have conducted Pisistratus as lord of the citadel to her shrine on the summit of the hill (Hdt. i. 60). The Acropolis now became more than ever the seat of government and lordly rule. This fact Aristotle probably has in mind when in his *Politics* (1314a) he says that the safety of a *tyrannus* lies in making it as kingly as possible. According to Hesychius (23) a scare-crow of bronze was fastened by Pisistratus to the outer wall of the Acropolis, to serve as a charm, which, according to popular superstition, should avert the envy of the gods, who might destroy the prosperity of the ruler.

From the statement of Thucydides (vi. 54) it is clear that the Pisistratids spent a portion of the revenue from the taxes on the adornment of the city and the building of temples. Among the structures in the lower city erected by Pisistratus and his sons may be named the Enneacrūnos or Fountain of nine conduits, believed by Dörpfeld (24) to be identical with the fountain called Calirrhoë, and to have been found by him in the excavations at the base of the Pnyx hill, the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, and the great temple of Olympian Zeus which was not completed until the time of the Emperor Hadrian.



Just what buildings on the Acropolis are to be attributed to the Pisistratids it is difficult to say. An ancient Propylon or gateway may be referred to this period, and also large walls built of polygonal masonry, which were added to the earlier built Pelasgic walls and formed with them what was called the Pelargicon, to be more fully described presently. Whether the great cisterns built into the rock east of the Propylaea and close to the north wall (see 31 Plan) are connected with the Pisistratids is not clear; they are dated by Middleton as belonging to the fifth century, but Dörpfeld (25) is inclined to connect them with a period earlier than the fifth century.

That at this time the rich and abundant building material of Attica first came to be widely used is most probable. The earliest building material of a durable nature employed was the limestone of which the Acropolis and the neighboring hills were constituted, and also a coarser and softer limestone, which was sometimes called Peiraic from the fact that it was found most abundantly in the promontory adjacent to Peiraeus and named Akté. This stone is also called by the Greek name of *poros*, a term frequently adopted by modern scholars. Later, a reddish, harder limestone found in the lower slopes of Hymettus, and now called Kará limestone from the name of a neighboring village, was employed. This seems to have been a favorite stone with the Pisistratids, especially for stylobates and for steps that were exposed to much wear. For statuary the marble earliest in use was imported from the islands of the Aegean, especially from Paros. But the earliest examples of statuary were made of the coarse limestone above mentioned. The rich quarries of Pentelic marble were not extensively worked before the fifth century.

With an abundance of resources such as had never before been possessed by any previous ruler, Pisistratus and his sons made good use of this wealth of building material in beautifying the city and in honoring the gods with public edifices and shrines of worship. Athena especially, as the patron divinity of the royal house, which had made her olive tree a means of divination, was honored by adorning her temple on the Acropolis with a handsome peristyle. In her honor also Pisistratus is credited with having instituted

the greater Panathenaic festival which occurred every four years, and which was celebrated with musical and equestrian contests, with a magnificent procession, represented on the frieze of the later built Parthenon, and with the sacrifice of a hecatomb.

The history of the Acropolis was closely involved in the fortunes of the ruling house. Every student of Greek history remembers the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which had as a consequence the murder of Hipparchus and the expulsion of the Pisistratid dynasty. From the statement of Herodotus (v. 64) it is clear that when Cleomenes the Spartan attacked the Acropolis for the purpose of driving out the Pisistratids, the Pelasgic wall was a formidable means of defense, within which Hippias had entrenched himself. But that the expulsion of the Pisistratids also brought about the breaking down of the ramparts and fortifications of the now hated citadel of despotic rule does not necessarily follow, and seems disproved by the fact that when in 508 B.C. Cleomenes entered Athens for the second time, for the purpose of setting up an oligarchy, he made the Acropolis his fortress and sustained a siege of three days behind its ramparts (26).

Much more disastrous to the walls and buildings of the Acropolis than the expulsion of the tyrants were the invasions and ravages of the Persians which occurred in 480 B.C. and the year following. Herodotus (viii. 53) tells us that in the first capture of the city the Barbarians having despoiled the sanctuary, burnt the entire Acropolis (27). How complete this destruction was we do not know, but we infer from the statement of the same historian, in Book ix. Chap. 13, that the more complete ruin was wrought in the following year, when, in consequence of the perfidious policy of Sparta, Athens fell a second time into the hands of the Persians, and Mardonius threw down and reduced to a heap of ruins what before had been left standing of walls, dwellings and sanctuaries. From Thucydides (i. 89, 3) we learn that a few dwellings, which were occupied by officers of the invading host, had been spared, as well as small portions of the walls of defense.

Before passing on, reference should be made to the view recently set forth by Dörpfeld (28) according to which the

foundations of the earlier Parthenon and the beginnings of its superstructure, which formerly were attributed to Cimon, are now assigned to the period of the restored democracy under Clisthenes and accordingly antedate the Persian invasion. The arguments for this view are best given in connection with the history of the Parthenon in the chapters that follow. Much probability may be claimed for the argument advanced by Dörpfeld that it would be strange if during this period marked by so much activity in Athens, when the Pnyx was built and the new market in the Ceramicus was provided, when the Athenians built their Treasury at Delphi and the Alcmaeonidae rebuilt the temple of Apollo, no edifice of any importance on the Acropolis should have been planned. But, as will be seen later, more cogent arguments for placing the earlier Parthenon before the Persian destruction are furnished by recent investigations of the ruins themselves.

After this brief sketch of the history of the Acropolis in the period closing with the Persian invasion let us turn to a study of the remains of buildings and statuary that have come down to us from this early time.

First in order of time we must discuss the so-called Pelargicon (29). Under this term we will treat the general question of the more ancient walls, although the word is more commonly applied to the line of ramparts that defended the western foot of the Acropolis and ran partly round the northern and southern slopes. This limitation of the term, however, seems to have arisen soon after the Persian invasion, before that time the term having been employed to designate the whole line of fortification that enclosed the Acropolis.

That the Acropolis was enclosed and defended from the earliest times by walls surrounding its crest and protecting the entrance at the west, not only seems probable from the nature of the case but finds confirmation both in the legends connected with the building of the walls and in the remains of them that have survived to the present time. Of these legends one runs that Athena herself was carrying a huge rock to be placed as a defense of the Acropolis at its western end, but that unhappily she let it drop when she heard of the disobedience of the daughters of Cecrops, and that later this rock was called Mount Lycabettus. Another legend



says that the walls of the Acropolis were built by Hyperbius and Argolas, names of ancient Pelasgians who were easily confounded with the giants. These Pelasgic walls are sometimes referred to by ancient writers as the work of the Tyrrhenians (30).

The figure (No. 4) in the text, taken from a red-figured vase of the fifth century B.C., represents one of these giant builders of the Pelasgic wall named *Gigas* carrying a huge rock or rather pile of rocks, and Athena in front directing him with her outstretched hand where to lay them.

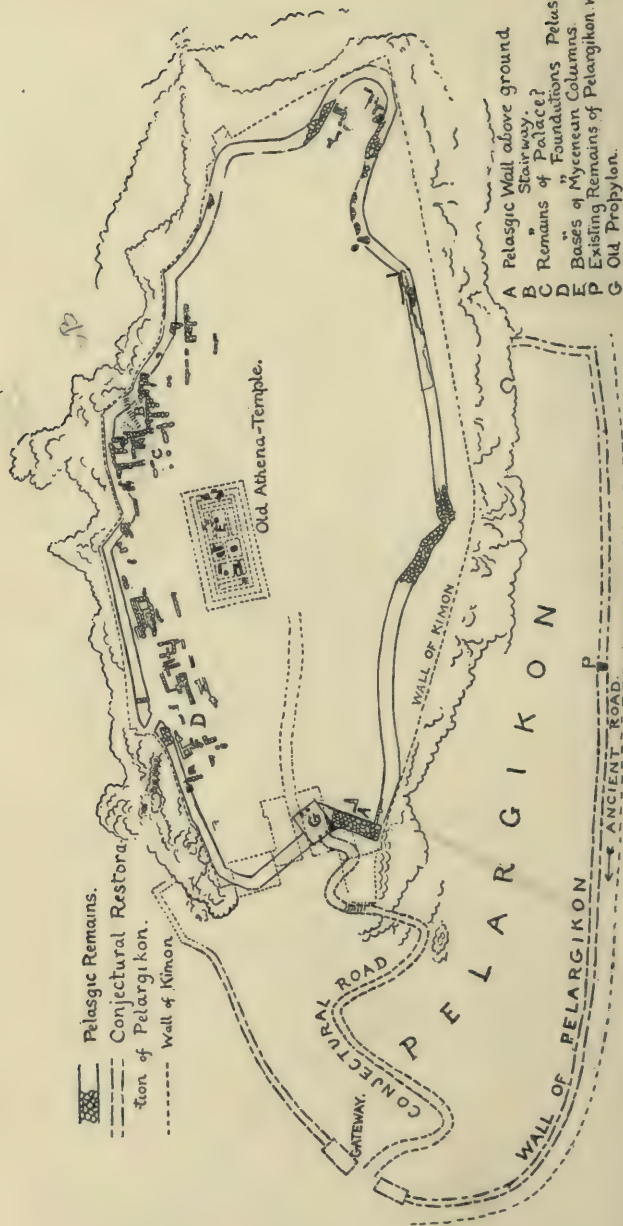


FIG. 4.—Giant carrying rocks. Athena.

That the Pisistratids made the Acropolis more of a stronghold than ever before has already been said. To effect this two things had to be done. The walls surrounding the crest and said to have been built by the Pelasgians must be strengthened and built higher, and the western approach and ascent must be more strongly guarded. Undoubted remains of this most ancient circumvallating wall have been found in recent excavations and are clearly to be seen in the trenches left open, especially on the east and south sides of the Acropolis. These walls all have the same characteristics. They are built of huge unhewn blocks of the limestone that constitutes the Acropolis rock, placed in layers or tiers with small stones filling in the chinks. The thickness varies from four to six metres, the original height is uncertain; it is preserved only to about four metres, but a bevelling of the







PLAN II.

PRIMITIVE ACROPOLIS WITH THE PELARGIKON.

wall of the east corner of the south wing of the Propylaea leads to the inference that the wall at this point may have reached to a height of ten metres (31). A good specimen of this wall is to be seen at the southeast corner of the Acropolis, which makes a sharp angle at this point, built of the hard limestone of the native rock and in huge blocks from three to four and a half feet in length. From what is left of this wall one would judge that at this point some bulwark for defense had been erected. Usually the remains of this oldest wall are found lying inside of the younger and better built wall dating from the time of Cimon and Pericles. On the north side the later wall follows the line of the old wall quite closely, and wherever the line of Cimon's wall or of the later wall coincides with that of the ancient one or lies within it the old wall was torn down and became obliterated. In passing it may be observed that contemporary with this Pelasgic fortification wall are probably the roughly built foundations of dwellings (see 64 Plan) found a few years ago east of the Erechtheum and resting on the rock at a depth of 45 feet below the surface. To the Pelasgic period also belong the crude walls to be seen close to the northeastern boundary wall of the Acropolis, directly east of the Erechtheum, which are probably the remains of an ancient gateway (61 Plan) to the primitive royal palace, approach to which was gained by a flight of rock-cut steps leading up from the base of the Acropolis (60 Plan). Other remains of this oldest wall are to be seen at various other points. (See Plan II.)

The most conspicuous remnant of this Pelasgian wall, however, is that which bounds the precinct of the Artemis Brauronia terrace at the southeast corner of the southern wing of the Propylaea. Its length is nearly seventeen metres (about 55 ft.) and it has a thickness of nearly six metres (20 ft.). It rises to a height of about three metres (10 ft.) above the level of the plateau on which the Nike temple stands.

The original height of this wall and its relation to the old fortification is a matter of doubt, and opens up one of the many questions concerning the history of the Acropolis on which there is a wide divergence of opinion. This question is a twofold one: First, the extent of the stronghold about the western approach to the Acropolis and generally known

as the Pelargicon or Pelasgicum, and, second, the date when the Acropolis ceased to be a citadel and became simply a temenos or precinct of sanctuaries. In Appendix II. will be found some additional points bearing upon this question. Here it must suffice to indicate what topographical considerations and ancient remains and what evidence from ancient writers are involved in this discussion, and to state briefly the views held by some of those who have given the most serious study to this subject.

First let us consider the topography and the existing remains that are supposed to give data for the location and extent of the Pelargicon. As one looks at the Acropolis from a point near the "Theseum" or from the base of the Areopagus, he will easily observe that a fortification that is to be adequate to protect the entire western slope of the Acropolis, and that is to include any territory immediately around the base of the hill, would naturally enclose the Clepsydra at the north-west corner and the adjacent caves of Apollo and Pan. How much further to the east on this side of the Acropolis the wall of the Pelargicon would go is not so clear. If it were to protect the small and partly secret ascents or gates to the Acropolis on the north side, it would have to extend beyond the Agraulium from which there was an ascent. But no walls have been found on this side that can be surely identified as belonging to the Pelargicon. No clear indications of the extent of the Pelargicon on the west slope of the hill have been gained from the recent excavations made on the site by the German Archaeological Institute (32). These excavations have, however, made more clear the location of the old roadway leading up to the Acropolis and the probable extent of the Pelargicon on that side.

As in modern so in ancient days the approach to the Acropolis was by means of a winding road leading from one terrace to another, which were probably defended by walls. As is suggested by Miss Harrison (*Primitive Athens*, p. 33), the fortified Turkish Athens, which had a succession of redoubts on the west slope of the Acropolis, is in this respect more like the old Pelargicon fortress than the Acropolis as we see it to-day. When we turn to the south side we find



evidence for the existence but not for the extent of the old fortification. A number of pieces of wall (39, 36, 34, 31 in Plan VI.) have been assigned to the Pelargicon. But an examination of these walls shows that they do not belong to the same period. Of these pieces only that which is numbered 39 is probably a part of the Pelargicon, though not masonry of the very earliest period. The other pieces are good polygonal masonry and may belong to buildings of the time of Pisistratus and have supplanted earlier structures.



FIG. 5.—Pelasgic Wall on summit of Acropolis south of Modern Museum.

It is of course possible that they also belong to walls built by Pisistratus to strengthen the Pelargicon. The extent of the Pelargicon eastward is not known, but from hints found in the ancient writers, presently to be noticed, and from topographical indications, it has been bounded either by the theatre of Dionysus or by the precinct of Asclepius. That there was an approach to the Acropolis from the southwest has already been noticed. The old road which led to this approach, as is plainly seen when one visits the spot, must have started from somewhere near the theatre, and must have corresponded pretty nearly with the modern path that begins just east of the Stoa of Eumenes and runs below the

Asclepieum. At its western end the old road was built over and obliterated by the theatre of Herodes, the erection of which must have destroyed the ramparts of the Pelargicon at this conspicuous angle. In trying to determine the extent of the Pelargicon towards the east, we need to consider what evidence if any is afforded by the statements of Greek writers who allude to the Pelargicon. The important statements contained in the ancient writers that bear upon the location and extent of the Pelargicon are the following:

(1) The Pelargicon lay "under the Acropolis" says Thucydides (ii. 17). From this it is manifest that the term was now limited to the fortifications that lay below the Acropolis and did not include the walls that fortified the summit. (2) It enclosed a sufficient space, so that in consequence of the famous oracle, referred to by Thucydides in the same passage, "better the Pelargicon left waste" (33), a prohibition was laid against quarrying stone or removing earth from the Pelargicon, and tilling the ground within its enclosure. Only in the distress occasioned by the Peloponnesian war was this precinct temporarily occupied by the crowded populace. (3) Furthermore, in the enclosure of the Pelargicon were located a number of shrines. (4) The Pelargicon had connected with it nine gates, *ἐννεάπυλον* or *ἐννέα πύλαι* (34). (5) It lay, according to Lucian (*Bis Accus.* 9), close to the cave of Pan, which was "a little way above." In Lucian's *Fisherman*, 47, Parrhesiades after baiting his hook with figs and gold casts down his line to fish for the philosophers, and Philosophy seeing him looking over the edge asks if he is fishing for stones from the Pelargicon. In another passage of the same dialogue (42) the hungry philosophers are seen swarming up to the Acropolis on all sides, some by the Pelargicon, others at the Asclepieum, still more at the grave of Talos, and some at the sanctuary of the Dioscuri. The passages cited from Lucian may be interpreted to mean that the philosophers throng up the Acropolis from the north side close by the cave of Pan and from the south side as far as the grave of Talos, which is located just beyond the eastern boundary of the Asclepieum. (Cf. W. Miller, *A.J.A.* viii. 1893, p. 486.) According to this interpretation, which is held also by Dörpfeld (*A.M.* xiv. 65), the Pelargicon would include

the springs of the Clepsydra and of the sanctuary of Asclepius. But this is one reason that leads Judeich (*Topogr.* p. 111) to reject this view, since, as he says, the lack of water which compelled the supporters of Cylon to surrender (cf. *Thuc.* i. 126, 9) cannot be explained if the Asclepius fountain was enclosed within the walls of the fortress. Until further evidence is found the extent of the Pelargicon on the south side of the Acropolis must remain an open question. But before dismissing this part of the subject in hand we need still to look at the meaning of the term *ἐννεάπυλον*, i.e. *nine-gated*. This term has been variously explained. One explanation is that it refers to nine crosswalls, each with a gateway, barring at intervals the passage between two parallel walls running from the valley between the Areopagus and the Acropolis. This would be something like the German *Brückenkopf*, French *Tête-de-pont*. Wachsmuth compares the "Duodecim Portae" in Rome and the "Pentapylon" in Syracuse. Miller, in the article cited above, believes that the nine gates were in nine successive redoubts or walls that defended the western approach on successive terraces, the first, or innermost, of which was situated directly opposite the Areopagus since it was this hill that the Amazons and later the Persians made the base of their attack upon the Acropolis. The last but one of this series of redoubts through which the last but one of the nine gates would give entrance to the Acropolis would then be on the site of the bastion of the later temple of Nike, where an older "Pyrgos" would flank the unprotected right side of an attacking foe. The highest and last of all these walls may be that piece of Pelasgic wall spoken of above, forming at once the boundary wall of the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia and apparently a part of the surrounding wall on the summit of the citadel. Some idea of the arrangement of this redoubt or fortress with nine gates may be gained from a comparison with the citadels of other Mycenaean cities, such as Tiryns; the gates were separate entrances, lying one behind and above the other but not necessarily on the same axis, through successive walls which defended each terrace or height. The remark of Herodotus (viii. 51) that those of the Athenians who remained behind to defend the Acropolis at the time of the Persian attack barricaded



the entrance with doors and timbers (θύρῃσι τε καὶ ξύλοισι) seems to indicate that these gateways, like those at Tiryns, were only in part provided with doors. An interesting but unconvincing view of the meaning of ἐννεάπυλον is given newly by Drerup (*Philol.* 64, 66) who argues that this term refers to gates or entrances in the entire circuit of the walls surrounding the summit of the Acropolis. This view is based on the use of the word περιβάλλειν (*to throw around, i.e. to surround*) by Cleidemus (34) and by Myrsilus and Pausanias, all of whom are speaking of the building of the walls of the Acropolis. We have already seen that the term Pelargicon did originally include the circuit wall on the Acropolis as well as the walls defending the approach from below. But how to apply the term ἐννεάπυλον to the circuit wall is now the question. Drerup applies it by supposing that there were nine gates originally in this circuit wall, that is to say, the main entrance at the west and eight rear and side entrances, five of which can, he thinks, still be recognized, *i.e.*, four on the north and north-west side and one on the south side of the citadel. The objections to this view are first that there is no reason to suppose that these side entrances were ever large and conspicuous enough to be counted as among "the nine gates," indeed some of them appear always to have been secret and seldom used; and secondly, the statement of Polemon (see p. 18) that the sanctuary of Cylon lay outside of the nine gates makes it impossible to understand these nine gates as placed at intervals in the circuit of the walls surrounding the entire Acropolis. On the contrary, the expression "nine gates" as a designation of locality could only have arisen and been handed down in case it referred to a definite and limited part of the entire line of fortifications.

The other question connected with the Pelargicon relates to the period during which these defenses were kept standing. On the one hand it is held that they were taken down, so far as they had not been levelled by the second Persian invasion, at the time of the building of the Propylaea, and that under Pericles the Acropolis ceased to be a citadel. On the other hand it is contended, especially by Dörpfeld, that not before the time of Herodes Atticus did these ancient



walls and enormous bulwarks about the Acropolis disappear, and that during the most illustrious period of the history of the Acropolis, its beautiful temples and Propylaea were shut out from the view of the inhabitants of the city by these high walls of fortification. So far as is known, there is no topographical or architectural evidence adduced in favor of this extraordinary theory other than the remarkable fact that the southeast corner of the southwest wing of the Propylaea



FIG. 6.—Southwest Wing of the Propylaea, and Pelasgic Wall.

is bevelled outward from plinth to cornice so as to make a close junction with the piece of Pelasgic wall already described above running in a slanting direction from the corner of the Propylaea to the outer wall of the Acropolis. From this it is argued that this upper part of the Pelasgic wall was left standing to a height of more than thirty feet when the Propylaea was built as part of the Pelargicon, and was then still recognized as an essential part of the old fortification. Those who cannot accept this view believe either that this part of the old wall was built up to this height by the priesthood of Artemis Brauronia, or what is more likely,

that so much of it was allowed to remain standing in order to prevent encroachment on their domain. The evidence brought from the ancient writers and from inscriptions in favor of Dörpfeld's view is in dispute, and has been refuted by Professor John Williams White in a monograph published at Athens in the *Ephemeris* of 1894, the main points of which are given in Appendix II. So much at least seems certain from the historians, that the Pelargicon did good service during the Persian invasion, enabling a handful of soldiers successfully to hold the fort against the onset of the barbarians, who probably might have been kept at bay much longer had not the secret passageway leading up from the sanctuary of Aglauros (Hdt. viii. 53) been revealed to them. From the occupation of the Acropolis as a citadel by the Spartans in 403 B.C. and from the fact that when Sulla seized Athens in 86 B.C., his lieutenant Scribonius found the Athenians so well entrenched on the Acropolis that he preferred to compel Aristion and his forces to surrender by cutting off their supply of water, it has been argued that the Pelargicon was standing during all this period. To this argument it may be replied that the position and natural advantages of the Acropolis as a place of refuge and a strategic point of defense would easily enable its occupants to turn it under stress of war into a temporary stronghold, without the additional security afforded by these ancient ramparts and walls.

The conclusion to which we have arrived is briefly stated this: The old Pelargicon with probably a few additions and changes made by the Pisistratids remained unimpaired until the Persian invasion when it was destroyed, never to be restored. The old walls on the summit disappeared under the new walls built by Themistocles and Cimon, with the exception of that piece above described which bounded the precinct of Artemis Brauronia. Thereafter the name passed over to the fortifications below on the western slope and their ruins. The curse upon the Pelargicon, henceforth to remain unoccupied and untilled, dates back to at least the second half of the fifth century, and may be a renewal of a still earlier edict against the use and cultivation of this domain, which may possibly date from the fall of the tyranny of the Pisistratids who had entrenched themselves behind these walls.

In later references, such as those of Polemon, Strabo, Lucian, and Pausanias, the name Pelargicon designated simply the ruins of the old fortification, a few pieces of whose walls may still be found lying on the south and southwest slopes of the Acropolis.

A discussion of the defenses and approaches of the Acropolis naturally suggest a more detailed account of the main entrance and ascent of the hill from its western slope.

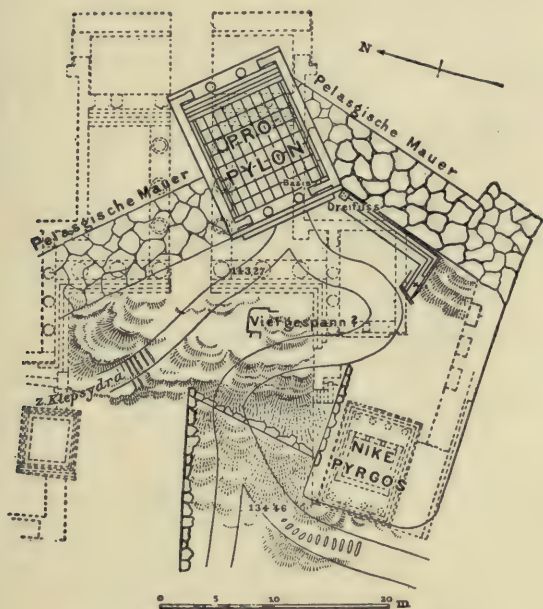


FIG. 7.—Pre-Periclean Ascent. Pelasgic Walls.

To gain a proper idea of this ascent we must bear in mind that the present road up the western slope lies upon a higher level than did the ancient one. In the earliest times, as we have seen (p. 12), one ascent was from the southwest below the bastion of the Nike temple. The direction of the road up the Acropolis from this point is indicated by cuttings in the rock and its further course, as it turns around the bastion, by the existence of the wall of polygonal masonry which lies almost in the axis of the Propylaea and was evidently built to support the terrain to the south. (See

Figure 7.) Probably a similar retaining wall ran north from the bastion. At the intersection of these two walls the ancient ascent must have made a sharp turn to the south. Its further course is indicated by the fact that the polygonal wall that supported the Nike bastion shows at its east end clear signs of having been worn away. Following these indications we get a winding course towards the south, after which the road apparently made another turn to the north and east and finally led to the ancient Propylon, to be described later. This ascent, measured from the foot of the bastion, amounts to between eight and nine metres in a distance of about fifty metres, giving a rise of about one to six. From the old Propylon, rebuilt and strengthened by Cimon (see p. 72), the old road ran in a northeast direction to the site of the ancient "tokens" in the precinct now occupied by the Erechtheum.

Such was the ascent to the Acropolis until after the time of the Persian invasion, fortified of course by the walls and gates of the Pelargicon already described. A decided alteration of the course of the road up the Acropolis must have been made by the new gateway, the Propylaea erected by Mnesicles, who changed the axis of this entrance to the Acropolis from southwest to west, almost exactly in the centre of the natural declivity of the hill. Since the foundations of the Propylaea show no reference to a stairway, in fact exclude the possibility of any construction in relation with a stairway, it is to be inferred that Mnesicles planned simply a roadway. The general direction of this roadway appears to be indicated by the orientation of the Agrippa monument (see p. 173), which, as will be seen in the plan, is not exactly parallel to the axis of the Propylaea, a fact which is naturally explained by supposing that this monument was placed with reference to a road that passed in front. The main entrance at the time of the building of the Propylaea must have been a little northwest of the present entrance, the so-called Beulé gate, but on a lower level. Inside of the Beulé gate, about two and a half metres (eight feet) below the level of the marble Roman stairway, to be described below, recent excavations have brought to light an ancient altar of poros stone *in situ*, to be seen a little to the left of the entrance in an open





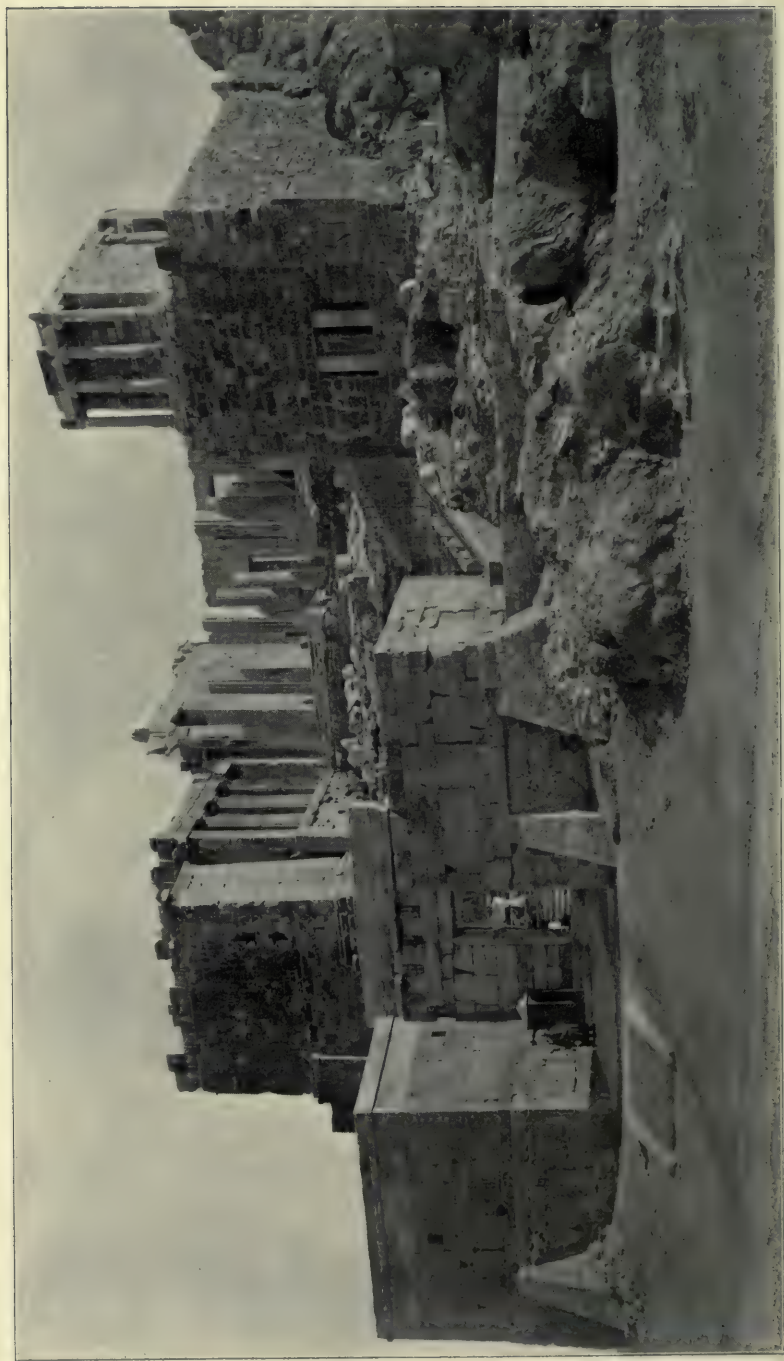


PLATE II.

THE BEULÉ GATE, THE PROPYLAEA AND THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA-VICTORY.

pit, which may have been one of the altars set up to Chthonian divinities in the Pelargicon (35). This seems to point to the fact that in early times the road near the Beulé gate lay on a lower level than in the Roman period. The third transformation of the ascent to the Acropolis dates from the time of the Roman Emperor Caligula, when the great marble stairway was built exactly in the axis of the Propylaea. Scanty but undoubted remains *in situ* of the original ascent have been found by Bohn (*die Propyläen*, p. 35), near the Beulé gate and in front of the Propylaea. The general course can still be traced. This ascent remained practically unaltered throughout the Roman period except so far as the addition of the Beulé gate required changes in order to adjust the stairway at its base to the entrance. That we may not need to return to the Beulé gate and the Roman stairway we proceed to describe these structures more fully. The gate received its name from the French archaeologist E. Beulé (36), who has the credit of having discovered, in 1853, the remains of this gateway which up to that time had been concealed within the walls of a Turkish fortification. Standing in front of the gateway, we observe first of all the flanking towers, built of blocks of Peiraic limestone laid in regular courses. Originally both towers measured from seven to eight metres in circumference. That they were not designed as a means of fortification is shown by the lightness of their construction, the walls being only a little more than twenty-one inches thick. They were built as an architectural finish to the large marble stairway, at the foot of which they stood and to which they were connected by means of flanking walls. Whether originally there was any gate or barrier between the towers, possibly a railing or screen with a door, is not known. A complete architectural entrance was built later in the second century, probably by Herodes Atticus, when some of the material of the Nicias monument was utilized to build the walls and gateway that bear the name of Beulé. Since the building of the towers cannot be disconnected from that of the great stairway, we are able to ascertain the date of their erection inasmuch as we know from the inscription (37), dated about 40 A.D., the time when the latter was built. With this date agrees also

the form of the masons' letters, which clearly belong to the first century A.D. In the tower at the right hand as we enter the gate are found letters cut into blocks of successive courses, which are marks of the stone-masons, from which it is inferred that the towers were originally higher by five courses. The corresponding tower at the left hand, *i.e.* the northern, has been partly rebuilt in Roman or in Byzantine times and is covered over with a vaulted roof of brick. The careless and crude masonry at the bottom of the towers cannot have been exposed to view originally, and affords inferential evidence of a higher level when they were built. In a lecture given on the spot (Nov. 1899), Dörpfeld pointed out the fact that the masonry of the Beulé gate does not fit exactly with that of the towers, and that apparently the gate was originally deeper. The masonry on the east or inner side of the gateway is not so careful as that on the outer side, for the reason that the inner side was covered by a vaulted corridor.

When Beulé found the gate that bears his name, he supposed it to be constructed of blocks of marble and various architectural fragments that originally belonged to different monuments, but had been arranged with a certain degree of regularity pointing to a more ancient model. Other architectural fragments of marble and limestone are lying within the gate, in the space between it and the Nike bastion, and still others are built into the Acropolis wall at the south-west corner of the bastion. Most of these architectural pieces and blocks of marble and limestone, as Dörpfeld (38) has shown, belong to one and the same building, from the materials of which the Beulé gate was constructed. What is found built into the gateway is the following: Above the gate three courses of slabs of Pentelic marble, evidently constituting an architrave, enclosing a Doric frieze, whose triglyphs are of poros and were originally colored, and whose metopes are thin slabs of marble fitted into the grooves of the triglyphs. The slabs of the architrave are placed edgewise, their inner surface being rough and evidently intended to be covered by another layer of slabs, but their outer surface carefully worked. The upper course has a moulding and many of the slabs still show the Doric regulæ and



guttae. A cornice divides the architrave above from the Doric frieze below. An inscription is seen on the face of a part of the architrave, which properly joined reads as follows (39):

Νι[κ]ί[α]ς Νι[κ]οδήμου Ξυ[π]εταίων ἀνέθηκε νικήσας χορηγῶν  
 Κεκροπίδι παίδων·  
 Πα]νταλέων Σικυνώνιο[ς] ἡϋλεις, ἄσμα Ἑλπήνωρ  
 Τιμοθέου Νέ[α]ι[χ]μ[ο]ς ἦρχεν.

Translated this reads thus: "Nicias, son of Nicodemus, a Xypetaean, having gained a victory as choregus with the boys of the tribe of Cecropis, dedicated (this monument). Pantaleon of Sicyon played the flute: the piece was the *Elpenor* of Timotheus. Neaichmos was the archon." This inscription tells us at once the origin of this building and its date. The monument was that of Nicias erected in memory of his choregic victory in 320-19 B.C., which is the year of the archonship of Neaichmos. The characteristic features of this monument will occupy our attention in a subsequent chapter. Here it is important to know that this structure probably stood near the southwestern slope of the Acropolis (41 in Plan V.), just above the Odeum of Herodes Atticus and that, as Dörpfeld has shown, it was torn down in order to make room for the alteration of the road which was occasioned by the erection of the Odeum, the date of which is known to be about 161 A.D., *i.e.* more than a century later than the date of the flanking towers and the Roman stairway (40). On each side of the gate, and filling the space between the two towers, is a wall built of marble blocks, which constitutes the central part of the entire gateway. The entire structure is about 23 metres (75 feet 5 inches) in breadth. The Doric doorway is 3.87 metres (12 feet 6 inches) high, by 1.75 metres (5½ feet) wide. It lies exactly in the axis of the central opening of the great portal (Propylaea). The threshold of the gate, showing the holes in which the pivots turned, is still *in situ*, but since it does not lie in a proper relation to the stairway, a later reconstruction is to be inferred. The channel for draining the water and the lead in the holes of the doorposts for securing the hinges have been found.

To complete our account of the ascent of the Acropolis, let us describe the great Roman stairway of marble steps now

largely in ruin. This stairway of Roman date (41) concealed a portion of the original ascent which, as we have seen, was a winding one. It has already been observed that important changes in the ascent had been made by the erection of the Propylaea before the building of the Roman stairway. Prior to 1834, when Ross and Hansen cleared away the debris piled upon the western slope and restored to the Acropolis one of



FIG. 8.—Remains of Roman stairway. Pedestal of Agrippa.

its chief ornaments, the Nike temple (cf. p. 192 below), it was quite impossible to make out the trend and extent of the Roman stairway. According to the calculations of Beulé it presented to view about a thousand square feet of surface. That this stairway cannot be work of the good Attic period a moment's glance will show, and has been fully set forth by Beulé, who calls attention to the careless working of the marble steps, the rough pointing of the blocks and the poorly constructed bedding. The staircase is divided into two unequal halves, or rather into two different systems. The lower system,

stopping with the broad landing in front of the Agrippa pedestal, consists of regular gradations and continuous steps extending clear across the entire width (74 feet) of the ascent. There were probably twenty-six of these long steps. Above this landing there were thirty-eight steps leading up to the lowest step of the Propylaea. But these higher steps did not run across the whole width of the ascent, but only from each side to a path about three metres ( $9\frac{3}{4}$  feet) wide, which was left open between the two flights of steps at each side and lay exactly in the axis of the middle portal of the Propylaea. This inclined path was covered with marble slabs, which were grooved for the purpose of steadying the steps of beasts of burden and of animals for sacrifice led up to the summit. Access to the plateau where this path began was probably by means of an entrance below and around the base of the Nike bastion. We are not to believe, what has been erroneously held by many writers, that chariots were driven up this ascent to the Acropolis. At any rate no ancient writer speaks of chariots ever going up the Acropolis. What has sometimes been taken for ruts of wheels in the surface of the rock are either grooves for conducting the rain-water or cuttings to support votive offerings. The representation of chariots in the frieze of the Parthenon can no more be cited as a proof that chariots ever went up the Acropolis than a portrayal of the seated divinities in the same artistic composition as evidence to show that persons supposed to represent these divinities were present in the actual scene.

That the level of the surface between the wings of the Propylaea must have been higher is shown by the lower courses of the crepidoma, or foundation, which are of limestone rudely worked and plainly not intended to appear. This is best seen in the foundation of the west portico of the Propylaea, which has three marble steps resting on a foundation that must have been covered up. The cuttings in the native rock just below these steps are believed to be foundations of bases of altars or statues, and to antedate the building of the Propylaea. Some of them may be traces of an older Propylon. That the entire ascent lay on a higher level is also shown by the character of the masonry of the bastion of the Nike temple, the lower courses of which are rough and



irregular and intended to be covered up and out of sight. The level and trend of the older ascent may also be traced in the foundations of the north wing of the Propylaea, where we see the line of the successive steps indicated by the character of the masonry. This change of level is also shown by the existence of the podium (see Fig. 9), which supports the steps leading up to the platform of the Nike temple, and which was built in connection with the great marble stairway.



FIG. 9.—The Bastion of the Temple of Athena Victory. Modern steps built of ancient material.

The ascent up the Acropolis was guarded at the right, the unprotected side of an attacking foe, by the great bastion whose summit is crowned by the temple of Athena Victory. That from earliest times the approach to the Acropolis was guarded at this point is undoubted. The existence of an earlier tower (*pyrgos*) at this point, making a part of the old Pelargicon is attested by the blocks of polygonal masonry which are still to be seen behind the north face of the wall in a hole a little way up the ascent. It was doubtless Cimon who built the bastion of square blocks of limestone in connec-



tion with the south wall of the Acropolis and the older Propylon on the summit. As we see it to-day, the bastion rises in trapeze-like shape. At its northwest corner it has a height of 8.6 metres (about 27 feet) measured from the bed rock on which it rests, in eighteen regular courses of blocks of hard limestone carefully wrought. In the three upper courses of "stretchers," at intervals of about three feet, occur vertical slits in pairs. Their purpose is not known; that they served in some way to fasten a marble veneering is not probable. That this wall was ever covered with marble slabs as a veneering is not certain, although this would explain the lighter tint of the blocks of stone on this side as compared with the browner tint of the stones on the west side front, which in that case would have been exposed to the weather so much longer. On the other hand, the fact that for the sake of presenting an appearance of regularity false joints are indicated in the pointing or marking of the wall, seems to show us that it was the original intention of the builder that this wall should be seen and not covered over. On the west front the same arrangement of slits spoken of above is observed. On one side also are to be seen two niches separated by a pillar, each 2.70 metres (8 feet 10 inches) high but differing in breadth and depth. These niches may have been intended for statues; no reference to them is found in any ancient writer. Whether the bastion had its present shape at the time when the Propylaea was built is a much disputed question, closely related to the history of the building referred to and to that of the temple of Athena Victory. Reserving for the chapter which deals with these buildings a discussion of their relation to the present summit of the bastion, it is in place here to study the relation of the bastion to the foundation walls of the Propylaea and to the flight of marble steps that cuts into the face of the wall and leads up to the platform of the little temple.

A careful study of the bastion recently made by Köster (42) has shed some new light upon this matter and the questions that are related to it. Köster finds that the position of certain stones in the north face of the wall indicates a change from the original line of the wall. Taking the direction indicated by these stones it appears that the bastion wall as built by Cimon was later cut on its north face, apparently in order

to conform to the axis of the Propylaea. To this same conclusion Wachsmuth and Bohn (43) came on other grounds some time ago. If the line of direction indicated by these stones were prolonged to a northwest corner of the Pyrgos this corner would project 70/100 metres (2 feet 3 inches) farther to the north than at present. By this change of direction the north wall of the bastion would lie either parallel to or at right angles with the remains of older walls that antedate the Propylaea and that in some cases form the substructure of its foundations. It follows from this, first that the bastion *in its present form* is later than the Propylaea, and second, that the temple of Athena Victory built upon it is younger. But these conclusions must be weighed more carefully when we treat of these buildings. What we are concerned with now is the bearing of this result on the relative age of the flight of marble steps and of the wall that supports the south wing of the Propylaea. It must be observed that this wall ends at the west in an anta. Between this anta and the north wall of the bastion is the little marble stairway. Its steps butt up against the anta, but are built in proper relation to the walls of the bastion, two steps in each case corresponding to one course of masonry. Behind and under the steps the wall of the bastion continues to the east but does not quite reach the anta. Furthermore, in the continuation of this wall is found a block that shows a smooth face as if tooled for making a close joint.

From these facts directly opposite inferences have been drawn as regards the relative age of the bastion and the Propylaea. Bohn and Julius, on the one side, argue that the bastion is clearly younger than the Propylaea, Wolters (44), on the other hand, maintains that it is older. The investigations of Köster go to show that when the wall that supports the south wing of the Propylaea was in process of building, the wall of the bastion had still its original face, trending somewhat to the northwest, and extended east beyond the later built anta that terminated the marble wall just beyond and above. Now in order to place the anta in position a piece of the bastion wall had to be broken away and removed, and this accounts for the irregular and ragged termination of this wall below the flight of steps.

From this it follows that the change in the north front of the bastion wall was made after the foundation walls of the Propylaea had been built, probably to make the alignment parallel, and that then these steps were put in, since no reference to them was had when the anta was erected.

Having completed the account of the entrance and the ascent to the Acropolis we are now ready to resume the historic sequence after the discussion of the Pelargicon, and



FIG. 10.—Foundations of the Old Temple of Athena. The Erechtheum. The Modern City.

*cf Antike Den  
I. Pl. 1.*

to consider the oldest remains of architecture and sculpture found on the Acropolis, some of which antedate the period of Pisistratus and Solon. In the earliest period may be placed fragments of poros sculpture brought to light in modern excavations of the Acropolis and now exhibited in the Acropolis Museum. These fragments point to the existence of very early temples, whose pediments they adorned. All sure traces of the foundations of these early temples have disappeared, with the exception of the foundations of the old temple lying known as the old temple of Athena discovered by Dörpfeld.



Before 1886, when the excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Society on the Acropolis were begun, the foundations of a large building immediately to the south of the Erechtheum had been recognized by Professor Dörpfeld, as those of a large ancient temple, doubtless a temple of Athena, destroyed by the Persians when they sacked Athens in 480 B.C. The existence of an early temple of Athena might have been presupposed. Some of the foundation stones belonging to this building had already been observed by Ludwig Ross, who, however, connected them with some ancient structure pertaining to the Erechtheum. The keen and well-trained eye of Dörpfeld was able to restore the plan of a temple when once the rectangular space between the Parthenon and the Erechtheum had been cleared of debris and the stones of the foundation walls had been identified (45). The spot on the Acropolis on which the temple was erected had not a level surface but sloped from southeast to northwest. (See Plan II.) This area was prepared for the support of the foundations by taking the level of the rock at the southeast corner as the starting point and then filling in with dirt and stones up to that level. On the north and west sides there were retaining walls to support this terrace-like enclosure. The foundation walls were carried down to the bed-rock and are therefore of varying depth. At the southeast corner the stylobate rested directly on the rock, but at the northwest corner, where the downward slope of the rock is the greatest, the foundation has a height of about three metres ( $9\frac{3}{4}$  feet). The remains of the foundation walls are sufficient to enable us to gain a fair idea of the plan of the temple and of its dimensions. First is to be noticed a heavy wall surrounding the temple proper, having a thickness of more than two metres, which doubtless served as a support of the outer row of columns, *i.e.* the peristyle. As we shall see later, this colonnade was a later addition. The total length of the stylobate was at the sides 43.44 metres (142 feet 5 inches), at the ends 21.34 metres (70 feet). Within this outer wall supporting the colonnade we trace the foundations of the temple itself, built of the native limestone of the Acropolis. The foundation walls of the temple proper measure in length 34.70 metres, in width 13.45 metres, *i.e.*  $105.8 \times 41$  Attic feet, and the



temple floor has a length of exactly 100 Attic feet, hence the name Hecatompedon ("the hundred-foot") by which this building was generally called.

The interior is subdivided by several partition-walls into different chambers. Of these we recognize first the narrow apartments at the east and west ends (*B* and *G* in the plan) which correspond to the ante-chamber or pronaos and the rear-chamber or opisthodomos of the Greek temple. Adjoining the pronaos is a large, almost square apartment (*C* in the plan), which is divided by two walls into a nave and two aisles.

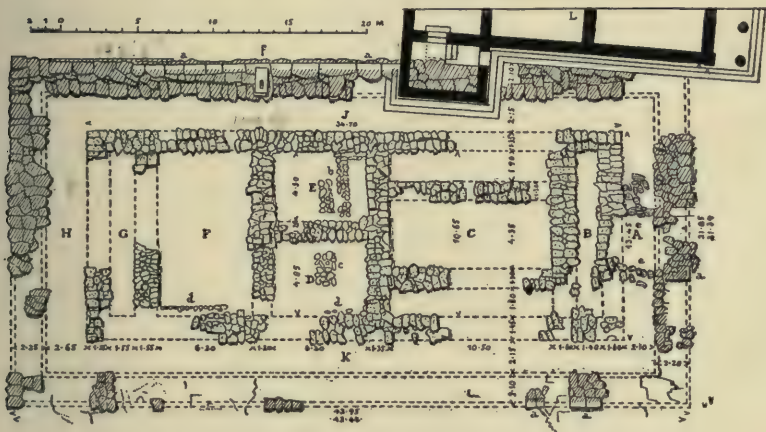


FIG. 11.—Foundations of the Old Temple of Athena indicating interior plan.

Plainly this is the cella, the sanctuary proper, in which must have stood the cult image of the divinity. At the west end, opening from the rear-chamber, we see another square apartment (*F* in the plan) apparently without interior columns or partition walls. Between it and the east cella lie two smaller rooms (*D*, *E*), which may have been connected by means of doors with the west chamber (*F*). There are other foundation stones having a different orientation and of different construction, some of which belong to earlier and others to later walls, which need not detain us now. From these remains the plan and general character of the temple are sufficiently clear. It may be reconstructed in the manner indicated in the accompanying cut (Fig. 11).

From this it is evident that in addition to the ordinary

apartments of a Greek temple this structure had a number of apartments at the western end constituting a separate part by itself as though it were a double temple. It seems probable that the western front of this structure is referred to by Herodotus (v. 77) when he speaks of the fetters of the Chalcidian prisoners of war which the Athenians hung as a trophy upon the walls *over against the chamber turned towards the west*, which had been scorched by the fire in the Persian destruction. Dörpfeld is disposed to hold that this western half of the building in distinction from the eastern cella was devoted to some secular purpose, and to believe that this part of the old temple is the opisthodomos which served as the treasury of Athena and of the Athenian state for many centuries. To this question we return later. From the dimensions of the foundation walls and from the length of the architraves Dörpfeld inferred that the temple in its later history had six columns at each end and twelve on each side, if we include the corner columns. With this view correspond the measurements of the architectural fragments that belonged to this temple and were later built into the north wall of the Acropolis (see below, p. 69). These fragments are built into that part of the wall that lies west and east of the Erechtheum and dates probably from the time of Themistocles. Some of them are clearly indicated in the accompanying cut. They consist of two Doric capitals, several drums of columns, architraves, triglyphs, and cornices, some of Peiraic limestone (*poros*) others of the Kará limestone, and metopes of marble. The architraves are of different dimensions, which is due to the fact that some belong to the sides and others to the ends of the building. From the form of the cornices it is evident that the temple had the usual gable roof. In the rubbish on the Acropolis, not far from the spot where the other fragments were built into the wall, were found two large pieces of gable-cornice of a coarse-grained marble which must have belonged to a pre-Persian temple. But as there was no large building of marble on the Acropolis erected prior to the Persian time, we must assign this cornice to a building of *poros*. As it seems to fit the dimensions of this old temple, it has been assigned to this building. Pieces of moulding of the same

material have also been found, probably belonging to the same building. That the gables were decorated with sculpture is to be inferred from the great width of the horizontal and raking cornices. The remains of this sculpture we shall presently discuss. Dörpfeld believes that the roof was constructed of marble tiles.

Formerly Dörpfeld held the opinion that the temple proper, *i.e.* the building stripped of its portico, had the form of a temple *in antis*, with two columns in the centre between



FIG. 12.—Architectural Fragments of the Old Athena Temple built into the North Wall of the Acropolis.

two pilasters, one at each side (45). More recently, however, he (46) has concluded from the evidence drawn from further study of architectural remains that the temple originally had four Ionic columns at each end and was accordingly what is called an amphiprostyle building. The temple appears to have had externally only a single step—not three as is customary in Greek temples—being in that respect like to the temple of Hera at Olympia. This step served as the controlling course (*εὐθύντηρίς*) of the foundation, and hence cannot be properly considered a step. The Doric columns of the peristyle had twenty flutes and a strongly projecting

*cf. Antike  
I. Pl*



capital which shows an echinus with a vigorous angle. Passing by other architectural details, which are given in the article by Dörpfeld published in the *Athenische Mittheilungen* of 1886 (vol. xi.), a few words must be said concerning the date of this temple both in its original and its later form. How far back to date the temple in its oldest form is a matter of dispute. Both the architectural and sculptural remains point to a time prior to Pisistratus. Wiegand (*Poros Architektur*, p. 63, 106) and Michaelis (*Jahrb. k. d. arch. Inst.* xvii. 1902, p. 4) believe that the remains of the temple show a date not earlier than the beginning of the sixth century, while Judeich (*Topogr.* p. 238) thinks they may date back to the

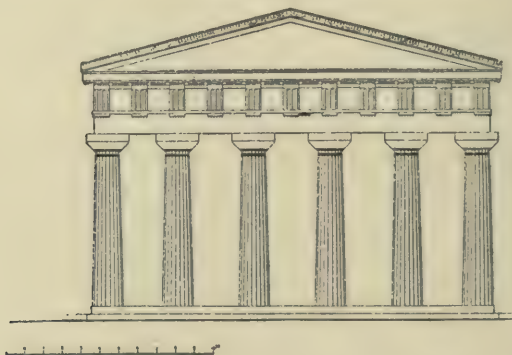


FIG. 13.—Restored Peristyle of the Old Athena Temple.

seventh. That there was a temple of Athena on the Acropolis in the time of Cylon (*circa* 630 B.C.) can hardly be doubted from what is said by Herodotus (v. 71), but this temple may have been, according to Michaelis, an earlier Athena Polias temple which was the predecessor of the present Erechtheum. This question, however, can be discussed more properly in connection with the later fortunes of the old temple of Athena and must be passed by for the present. The date of the temple in its later form is more easily determined. From the style of the architecture, from the use of marble for metopes, mouldings and tiles, and from the use of Kará limestone for the foundation and steps of the peristyle, Professor Dörpfeld has shown conclusively that the peristyle is a later addition. This addition occasioned important alter-



ations. According to Wiegand and Schrader (47) the old walls of the cella were carried up higher, the old pediment and the roof were taken down and replaced by new structures, and the columns at the ends were, of course, higher. The walls of the cella thus built up were adorned with a frieze. That all these changes were made before the Persian invasion is shown by the state of preservation of the ornamental remains of the temple, and especially by the fact that slabs of metopes of the older pediments were utilized to decorate the pre-Persian Propylon, and for recording the famous Hecatompedon inscription, which is most probably to be dated in 484 B.C.

The discovery of this ancient temple, to which we have thus far referred as the old temple of Athena, has thrown a fire-brand into the camp of the archaeologists, who up to this time had held that there were only two large temples on the Acropolis, the Erechtheum and the Parthenon. Anything like an adequate discussion of the relation this old temple holds to the Erechtheum and the Parthenon and to their respective predecessors would exceed the limits of this volume, and the reader must therefore be content with a statement of the view which is here adopted as on the whole the most in accord with the testimony of ancient writers and inscriptions and with the evidence furnished by the remains of architecture and sculpture. The widely different theory of Dörpfeld on this question, which in spite of many points to be argued in its favor we have been unable to adopt, has been a subject of so much discussion and if true is so important for the history of the buildings upon the Acropolis, that no account of the Acropolis and its buildings can properly omit a presentation of it. Accordingly, after stating our own view we shall give that of Dörpfeld, relegating to Appendix III. a discussion of its merits, and incidentally giving the reasons for the view adopted in these pages.

The history of these temples we believe to be as follows:

1. According to the *Odyssey* (vii. 80), Athena left the land of the Phaeacians and "came to Marathon and wide-wayed Athens and entered there the strong house of Erechtheus." The poet must have meant by this statement either that Athena entered a temple which was known as "the strong

house of Erechtheus" or that in connection with the palace of the ruler there was a shrine sacred to the goddess. The close proximity of the foundations of the "old palace" to the present Erechtheum favors the latter supposition. In a passage of the *Iliad* (ii. 549), known to be of later origin than the *Odyssey*, we are told that Athena gave Erechtheus "a resting place in her own rich sanctuary, and there the sons of the Athenians worship him with bulls and rams." These two Homeric passages so far from being contradictory supplement each other, and point not only to a close union of Erechtheus and Athena, a union frequently stated or implied in later references, but to their joint possession of a sanctuary, or what may be termed a double temple. The allusions in Herodotus (v. 72, 90; viii. 41, 51, 53, 54, 55) point to a temenos or enclosure of shrines all included in the one term sanctuary (*ἱερόν*), and contain nothing contradictory to the view that Erechtheus later shared with Athena the possession of her temple. That this ancient double temple was erected in close proximity to the old "tokens" (*σημεῖα*), *i.e.* the salt well of Erechtheus, the trident mark of Poseidon and the olive tree of Athena, is to be inferred from the statement of Herodotus (viii. 55). This double temple we hold to be the predecessor of the later Erechtheum and to have occupied practically the same site. To this temple the names "ancient temple" (*ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς*), and "temple of Athena Polias" are most frequently applied.

2. In addition to this temple a separate temple was later erected in honor of Athena as the patron divinity of the State. The new pomp given to the celebration of the Panathenaic festival in the sixth century B.C. seems to have been due to the same impulse, to give more honor to Athena, as that which led to the erection of a statelier temple for her worship. Doubtless this new temple received a new statue of the goddess, but the old wooden image (*ξύανον*), which was supposed to have fallen from heaven, retained undiminished reverence at her ancient shrine.

This later temple is the one referred to by Herodotus as *τὸ μέγαρον* (viii. 53), into which the Athenians fled for refuge from the assault of the Persians. Whether it was this temple that the Spartan king Cleomenes was forbidden by the

priestess (v. 72) to enter, or the double temple, which we may call the older Erechtheum, must be a matter of opinion. The sacred image (τὸ ἄγαλμα) to which Cylon fled for protection (v. 71) was probably the old wooden cult statue of Athena which was housed in the oldest temple of Athena, that is, the older Erechtheum. This later temple of Athena is the building whose remains have been discovered by Dörpfeld and described above. It probably dates in its earlier form from the early part of the sixth century B.C., and was adorned, as has been said before, with a peristyle built by Pisistratus. Besides being a temple, this structure served also as a state treasury, the sacred treasures being deposited in the chambers which constitute the rear or western portion of the building and which was called the opisthodomos. This building was known as "the temple" (ὁ νεώς), or officially as the Hecatompodon (47), *i.e. the building of a hundred feet*, from the fact that the length of the temple, exclusive of the peristyle, was a hundred Attic-Aeginetan feet.

3. Not long afterward, probably in the time of Clisthenes, a third temple to Athena of greater magnificence was planned to supersede the Hecatompodon. This temple is the older Parthenon, the planning and beginning of which was formerly attributed to Cimon, upon whose foundations the present Parthenon is built. Recent investigations by Dörpfeld (see p. 79 below) have shown that this older Parthenon was still in process of building at the time of the Persian invasion, when it was burnt down.

4. After the Persian invasion, in which "temple and tower went to the ground," the old double temple of Athena and Erechtheus and the old Hecatompodon were provisionally repaired, until they were superseded by the Parthenon and the Erechtheum. The magnificent Parthenon became the successor of the old Hecatompodon, to the general plan of which it conformed, its cella being dedicated to Athena and its western half devoted to the guardianship of the treasures of the State. The Erechtheum of course took the place of the older and smaller structure on the same site destroyed by the Persians.

5. After the building of the Parthenon the old Athena temple or Hecatompodon became a superfluous structure, and



by reason of its close proximity to the newly projected Erechtheum an obstruction which would have hidden from view the beautiful portico of the Maidens whose foundations indeed had to be laid upon those of the colonnade of the old temple, as may be clearly seen even to-day. Accordingly, the old temple, whose peristyle had never been rebuilt since the Persian destruction, was torn down soon after the completion of the Parthenon and before the building of the Erechtheum. The names of "ancient temple" or "temple of Athena Polias" were naturally transferred from the "older Erechtheum" to the later structure that took its place.

The reasons for holding this view will appear in connection with our discussion of the history of the Parthenon and the Erechtheum and in the Appendix on "the problem of the old Athena temple." Professor Dörpfeld's theory starts with maintaining that two separate temples or shrines, not a double temple, are referred to in Homer and Herodotus, to wit, a temple of Athena which he believes to be the building whose remains he has identified, and a temenos or shrine enclosing the tokens (*σημεῖα*) near by sacred to Erechtheus. Before the Persian invasion, probably under the leadership of Clisthenes (see p. 79 below), a grander temple to Athena, the Parthenon, had been begun. To distinguish the old temple, which with the exception of the peristyle was rebuilt after the Persian destruction, from this new temple of Athena, the old temple came to be designated as "the ancient temple" (*ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς*) or more completely as "the ancient temple of Athena Polias" (*ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος*). Dörpfeld further holds that the rear part, consisting as we have already seen of three chambers, was called "the opisthodomos," which continued to serve as the treasury of the state and of Athena. The new Erechtheum, completed probably in 408 B.C., is "the double temple," which was built with the object of replacing the two old temples and shrines that were destroyed by the Persians but had been in part restored. When the new Erechtheum was completed, the old Athena temple was not torn down as was originally intended, but through the influence of the priesthood this greatly venerated sanctuary was left standing, serving both as a shrine of Athena Polias and as a depository of the treasures of the



gods. It was still standing in the time of Pausanias, who refers to it (i. 27, 1) as the temple of the Polias, and it probably remained in existence until the close of the Byzantine period. The grounds for this remarkable theory (48) are briefly these: (1) During the interval of more than forty years between the destruction wrought by the Persians and the dedication of the Parthenon, the Athenians cannot have been without a temple of Athena and a treasury. This may be readily granted on any theory. (2) In official descriptions dealing with the sacred treasures and beginning with 435 B.C., the date when the Parthenon was finished, four separate localities are named in which treasures and sacred objects were kept. These are the *pronaos*, which is the eastern portico of the Parthenon, the *hecatompedos* (νεὸς ἑκατόμπεδος) which most scholars agree must refer to the cella of the Parthenon, the *parthenon* used in the more limited sense and referring to the western chamber of the building (see below p. 136) and the *opisthodomos*, which term is to be understood as referring to the compartment at the west end of the old Athena temple or Hecatompedon (49). The identification of the opisthodomos with these chambers in the old temple rests mainly upon the following considerations: The western chamber of the Parthenon was, as we have seen, called the parthenon in the restricted sense and cannot therefore have been the opisthodomos. Nor can this term well apply to the western portico of the Parthenon, which would be too small and too exposed to serve as a state treasury and a storehouse for the treasure of the temple. Nor can the opisthodomos be placed within the Erechtheum, for that building had no rear chamber nor western portico. This term then can only refer to the western chambers of the old Athena temple. This view is strengthened by the directions of a certain inscription (*C.I.A.* 1, 32) dating from 435-4 B.C., which directs that the moneys of Athena shall be kept "in the right-hand chamber" of the opisthodomos and the moneys of the rest of the gods "in the left-hand chamber" of the same apartment, applying these designations to the two small chambers in the western part of the old temple. The latest inscription which mentions the opisthodomos is not older than 319 B.C., but the term occurs in many writers of the Roman

period and in scholiasts and lexicographers of still later date. During all this time then this part of the old temple was used as a treasury, and if this part remained standing, it is reasonable to suppose that the entire building remained in existence. This may be called the opisthodomos argument, and will be discussed in the Appendix (50). (3) Xenophon (*Hellenica*, i. 6, 1) tells us that the year 406 B.C. was signaled by a lunar eclipse and the setting on fire of "the ancient temple of Athena" in Athens. Now an inscription dating from 409 B.C., only three years earlier, states that the new Erechtheum was not yet completed. It is unlikely therefore that three years later the Erechtheum should be called "the ancient temple of Athena." Still less likely is it that this epithet should be applied to the new and splendid Parthenon. Consequently "the ancient temple of Athena," which was injured by fire in 406 B.C., must have been the restored Athena temple. But inscriptions of the fourth century make repeated mention of "the ancient temple" and the opisthodomos as treasuries, and one inscription (*C.I.A.* ii. 163) of the same period refers to a sacrifice offered in "the ancient temple," showing that the old temple continued in that century to be used both as a place of worship and as a treasury. This may be called "the old temple" argument and will be reviewed in the Appendix. (4) If this temple survived so long, the presumption is reasonable that it stood much longer. But it may be said, if this building survived down to the Roman or Byzantine period, we shall expect to find some mention of it in the later writers. Now writers from Philochorus to Eustathius (51) refer to a "temple of Athena Polias" or "a temple of the Polias," and an inscription (*C.I.A.* ii. 464) of the second or first century B.C. mentions "the old temple of Athena Polias." These references Dörpfeld believes are to the old Athena temple. This is called "the Polias argument." (5) According to Dörpfeld (52) the order in which Pausanias describes his route on the Acropolis is as follows: He proceeds from the Propylaea to the Parthenon, passing by the old temple without entering it, but referring to it incidentally as "the temple" (ἐν τῷ νεῷ) in Book i. 24, 3, where there is a lacuna in the text, which probably contained a reference to the altars of Αἰδώς

and other divinities. After leaving the Parthenon, he comes to the Erechtheum (i. 26, 5), the altars in the east cella and the "tokens" in the west cella which he briefly mentions, and then with the words *ἱερὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς* (i. 26, 6) he passes to the description of the objects within "the ancient temple of Athena," such as the ancient image of the goddess, the golden lamp of Callimachus, the wooden image of Hermes concealed beneath boughs of myrtle, and the spoils from the Medes dedicated as votive offerings, all of which, according to Dörpfeld, were kept in the old Athena temple. From this view of Dörpfeld it follows that the building known as the Erechtheum was never called the temple of Polias or of Athena. This argument may be called "the Pausanias argument." As already stated, these arguments cannot be fully discussed within the necessary limits of this work, but they will be briefly reviewed in connection with other views in Appendix III.

The excavations on the Acropolis have brought to light many fragments of limestone and marble that belong to various structures destroyed by the Persians, and that subsequently were used as material for filling and levelling up the inequalities of surface of the Acropolis, for extending its area, especially to the south, and for repairing the walls that crowned its summit. Some of these fragments belong to the old Athena temple, others to buildings whose history and purpose can only be conjectured. Wiegand (*Poros Architektur*, 149) has discussed these remains, consisting chiefly of pieces of architraves, cornices, metopes and triglyph blocks, and believes that, aside from those that belong to the old Athena temple, they may be assigned to five buildings of limestone, the location of which cannot be determined. Together with these fragments of architecture many pieces of sculpture have been found, some of them of crude workmanship and of coarse limestone, which are believed to have been for the most part of decorative character and to have belonged to one or more early temples whose pediments they filled. These fragments of sculpture are to be seen duly arranged in the Acropolis Museum. A brief account of them in this connection it seems proper to give. There are probably five of these groups of sculpture in poros that seem to have been designed for



pediments of temples. Besides these there are groups of animals and several archaic figures, some of which are supposed to have been representations of priestesses and others of divinities. Let us first notice the groups that seem to have decorated the gables of temples. All of them show a remarkable similarity in their composition, their subjects, their style and technique, while at the same time they give evidence of a continuous progress from the earlier to the later archaic style. Traces of the original color or pigment which covered the surface of the stone still appear. With the help of these traces of color, it is possible to imagine what the appearance of these sculptures with their motley-colored tints must have been. The effect must have resembled



FIG. 14.—Heracles attacking the Hydra.

more that of painted and glazed tiles or of enamelled brick or of colored terra cotta than that of sculpture in stone or marble. These pediment groups apparently portray chiefly the deeds of Heracles. Whether from this it is to be inferred that there was once a temple or shrine of Heracles on the Acropolis to which these early sculptures belonged, or whether we are to suppose that these fragments were brought up from the lower city, to be used as material for extending the area of the Acropolis, is a question that has not been definitely determined. Gardner (*Greek Sculpt.* p. 159) remarks that the completeness of most of the groups tells against the latter alternative; on the other hand, we find no evidence elsewhere for the existence of a Heracles temple on the Acropolis.

What is probably the earliest of these groups represents Heracles attacking with his club the Lernaean Hydra. This group has more the character of relief than of sculpture



in the round. It consisted originally of six slabs, only four of which have been preserved. The hero stands at the right of the centre of the gable. His head and right arm are gone. He strides to the right extending his left hand towards the advancing Hydra. His coat of mail fits close to his body and reproduces in hard lines the contours of his chest. The sword-band hangs from the right shoulder across his breast. The body of the Hydra is three-fold, each part ending in three heads, but of the nine heads only six remain, and four of these show their forked tongues between their open jaws. The left half of the gable is occupied by Iolaus, who is shown at the moment when he is mounting his chariot. He wears a short and close-fitting coat and turns his head in a significant



FIG. 15.—Heracles and Triton.

way towards the hero, thereby indicating the unity of idea that binds the composition of the group. Farther to the left is the huge crab which has been sent by Hera to aid the Hydra. Many traces of color used in the conventional way were found. Particularly noteworthy is the aim to represent by different colors the stripes and scales of the serpents. A second and very fragmentary group represents Heracles wrestling with Triton "the old man of the sea." The hero grapples the monster about the chest with his mighty arms. Triton stretches out his right hand as if for aid; his body terminates in a tail covered with scales. Still another pediment group of the same style and material but of better technique represents a strange monster having three heads and busts which run together in coils and end in a huge serpent-like tail filling the corner of the gable. This monster is generally supposed to be Typhon. In the only hand of

the monster that is preserved there is held an object which may be intended to represent a kind of thunderbolt, a naïve allusion to the streams of fire which Typhon belches forth. The third bust, that nearest the angle of the pediment, is equipped with a wing spread out, which the sculptor has carefully chiselled so as to indicate the veins of the feathers. A corresponding wing is, doubtless, to be supplied at the left of the figure, the entire group forming in the conception of the artist only one monstrous body. Heads of serpents, apparently springing from the shoulder-blades, increase the confusion and heighten the impression of the grotesqueness

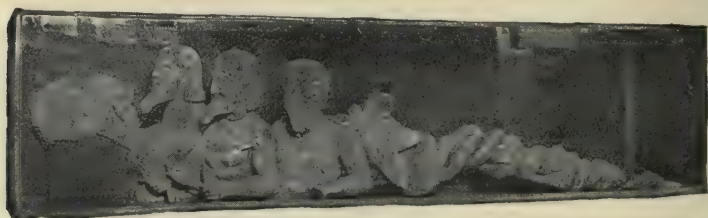


FIG. 16.—Typhon.

of this group. Upon this monstrous body are placed three heads which, with all their resemblance to one another, have each a marked individuality. Their large open eyes, smiling mouths, serene expression and carefully worked locks of hair, present a curious contrast to the formidable and furious character with which the sculptor wished to invest the genius of the tempest. As already intimated, these sculptures were highly colored, the work of the painter supplementing that of the sculptor. Brilliant tints of red, blue, yellow and black, with an occasional dash of green and brown were employed. The third head of the group when reproduced in its original colors has very naturally suggested the popular name of *Blue-Beard*.

The Triton and Typhon groups are believed by Brückner (53) to have belonged to one and the same building. This building may possibly have been the old Athena temple in its earliest stage, before it had been adorned with the colonnade added by Pisistratus. But the composition of these groups, as well as of those described below, is not free from doubt, and the question to what buildings they belonged is not yet



Schrader's Composition of a Pediment Group.



Brückner's Composition of the Triton and Typhon Groups.

FIG. 17.

fully solved. Among the fragments of poros sculpture were found pieces of huge serpents that have been skilfully put together and are now believed to belong to one of the other pediments of the old Hecatompedon. According to the interpretation of Schrader we have two serpents approaching each other from opposite sides of a pediment (see Fig. 17.) These serpents were probably the two on the Acropolis which according to Euripides (*Ion*, 23) were charged with the duty of guarding the newly-born Erechtheus. Fragments of two human figures have been found and have been put together. The first of these represents a male figure seated on a throne. The type of the head reminds us of that of the well-known Moschophoros or Calf-bearer found on the Acropolis. The other figure is the torso of a woman also enthroned. She is draped in a blue chiton decorated with the diagonal pattern of a meander border and in a red peplos, whose border is adorned with lotus-stars, crosses, and other patterns. Over each shoulder fall three braids, and a fourth is visible on each side of the neck. The style resembles that of the archaic female figures found on the Acropolis. Schrader believes that a third figure, of which no remains have been found, is required to make a rhythmical group, which he thinks would consist of a seated male figure on each side of the seated female. He composes the group in this wise: Three seated divinities in the centre, a serpent with coils and head raised approaching from each side. The central divinity is probably Athena, the divinity at the left may be Zeus or Poseidon, the one to be supplied at the right may be Poseidon or Erechtheus. It is worth while to remark that Wiegand connects several architectural and sculptural fragments with the oldest Erechtheum.

The Typhon and Triton groups are archaic Attic work from the period just preceding the introduction of marble sculpture from Asia Minor. They close the series of ancient poros pediment groups and may be dated as in the first half of the sixth century B.C. Somewhat more advanced in style are the archaic groups of animals engaged in a fierce combat. From the account of these given by Carl Watzinger in Wiegand's work on the poros architecture of the Acropolis we give a brief summary. The existing fragments of these animals point to two original groups, representing each two



lions attacking two bulls. The reconstruction of the groups is given in the work above named. According to this reconstruction in the first group two lions are grappling with two bulls, each pair facing the other. The one lion has dug his claws into the bull's back and the blood is flowing from the wound; the wounded bull is at the point of a last convulsive struggle and bends his head to the ground. The other lion stands victorious over the fallen bull, whose blood he is drinking from a wound in his neck. The colossal size of this group is to be inferred from the fact that the bull, which is the only figure of the group that is nearly complete, measures 12 feet 8 inches from his extended hoof to the broken stub of his horn. This group may have been a votive offering set



FIG. 18.—Ancient Pediment Group. Bulls and Lions.

up on the Acropolis in honor of Athena. This supposition is based upon a small relief found in Pergamon which shows an archaistic Athena standing between two bulls that are attacked by lions. Fragments of a third lion still larger than those of the group just described are too scanty to admit of a restoration. But a fairly satisfactory reconstruction is possible of a second group consisting of a lion which has attacked a bull in front and thrown him to the ground. All these remains of sculpture are to be seen in the Acropolis Museum. In a small building adjacent to the Museum on the Acropolis may be seen a restoration of one of these pediments on a model of an ancient temple. The Museum on the Acropolis contains what is preserved of the group of Parian marble sculpture representing a gigantomachy, which is generally held to have been the group that filled one of the pediments of the peristyle of the

old Athena temple. In spite of many mutilations, and notwithstanding that much of the original group is lacking, these sculptures make a powerful impression and give one a good idea of the advanced character of Athenian art prior to the outbreak of the Persian war. The best preserved part of this group represents Athena standing over the half-prostrate form of a giant, whose helmet she grasps with her left hand, while with her lance in her right hand she strides mightily against



FIG. 19.—Marble Group of Pediment of Old Athena Temple. Athena and Giant.

her foe to transfix his breast. Her aegis, which hangs over her left arm, is drawn in narrow folds across her breast and falls at the side down to the knee. Serpents are seen on the border of the aegis bent in the form of the letter S. The aegis has painted scales on the inner and outer sides so arranged that bands of red and blue alternate with those left colorless. A broad blue band runs along the wave-like border of the aegis, and indicates the back of the serpents, whose finely modelled heads are enlivened with red stripes and spots. Of the blue color of the helmet worn by the goddess, traces were still seen when the head was found. A diadem (*στεφάνη*)

encircled the helmet, into which eighteen holes were bored which probably held gilded rosettes as ornaments. Colored and gilded decorations doubtless ornamented the helmet and its crest. Traces of ornaments, such as ear-pendants and a necklace, are not wanting. Thus brilliantly arrayed, the goddess strides forward, radiant with color and eager for battle. The giant doubtless supported himself with his shield.

The other fragments that belong to the original group have been skilfully put together by Schrader, who reconstructs two prostrate forms of giants which occupied the corresponding corners of the pediments, and believes that the entire group consisted of eight figures, two more giants and two more gods, whose postures and movements are made to fit the gradation and height of the gable, after the same manner as the pediment groups of the Aeginetan temple; that is, the upright figure of Athena in the middle with a prostrate form at her feet, surrounded by figures of gods and giants, some striding forward, others kneeling, or lying prostrate. Stud-nizcka's (54) conjecture that these figures adorned the pediment of the old Athena temple is amply verified by later studies, and especially by the measurements of the figures of the group and those of the pediment in which they are supposed to have been placed. The height of the pediment, *e.g.* is shown to be 2.45 m. (8 feet 4 inches) and the statue of Athena, together with the plinth, takes 2.12 m. (not quite 7 feet).

The addition of the peristyle, as we have seen above, made the old Hecatompedon almost a new structure, which required additional ornament not only in its pediments but also on the walls of its cella. Dr. Hans Schrader has studied and combined certain fragments of marble relief sculpture in the Acropolis Museum, the best preserved of which is the slab representing the figure of a person in the act of mounting a chariot (incorrectly called *die wagenbesteigende Frau*), (Fig. 20) and finds that these fragments, five in number, belonged to one and the same frieze, and that this frieze in the style of its art and in its dimensions belonged in all probability to the old Athena temple. After the destruction wrought by the Persians the peristyle was not rebuilt, and the frieze on the repaired cella walls now became a more conspicuous ornament. Incidentally

Schrader sees in the preservation of so much of the frieze and in such a uniform condition as regards disintegration an additional argument for the view of Dörpfeld, according to which the temple whose walls it adorned was rebuilt and



FIG. 20.—Slab of Frieze of Old Athena Temple.

remained standing for many centuries after the Persian war, was seen by Pausanias, and was called by him the temple of the Polias.

It has been well said that this frieze has qualities of style in common with the archaic female figures found in the debris a little way west and north of the Erechtheum, and that accordingly all may be dated in the latter part of the sixth century. These archaic statues are of sufficient interest to merit more than a passing notice and will be described in the following chapter. Schrader leaves the question undetermined whether this brilliant sculptural decoration of the old Athena temple is to be regarded as a creation of Pisistratus or as the



first great work of the young democracy that came into power after the overthrow of the Pisistratids. In either case there is no reason to doubt that the creation of this remarkable group of statuary was due to an impulse already in force in the latter part of the sixth century, as seen in the more splendid celebration of the Panathenaic festival and in the beginning of a magnificent marble temple to Athena, an impulse which enthroned in higher glory the virgin goddess, to whose fostering care the state owed more and more its prosperity and renown.

## CHAPTER III

### FROM THE PERSIAN DESTRUCTION TO THE AGE OF PERICLES

“Then shout, felicitating ancient Athens,  
Appearing as of old—that wondrous city  
Chanted in many a hymn, inhabited  
By this illustrious people.”

ARISTOPH. *Knights*, 1326.

WITH the rebuilding of the city and its defenses after the Persian invasion, we enter upon a new period in the history of the Acropolis and its buildings. From this time on we have not only an ever-increasing amount of sculpture and architectural remains to guide us in our study, but also an ever-growing body of literature and inscriptions, some of it contemporaneous with the buildings of the Acropolis and some of it in the form of later references, descriptions or histories.

After the withdrawal of the Persians, the Athenians returned from Salamis and other places of refuge to their city, which had suffered such dire disaster. They found the temples on the Acropolis burnt and partly if not wholly razed to the ground, and the numerous statues and votive offerings either carried away as booty or thrown down and mutilated. Among the statues carried away by Xerxes was the bronze group of the tyrant-slayers, Harmodius and Aristogiton, by Antenor, afterwards restored to Athens by Alexander the Great or one of his successors, a marble copy of which is seen in the museum of Naples. One of the first duties of the returning fugitives was to repair their ruined shrines and temples, whose destruction apparently gave the Persian

ruler himself compunctions of conscience, if we may believe the story told by Herodotus (viii. 54), that Xerxes ordered the Athenians who were in his retinue the day after the conflagration, that having ascended the Acropolis, they should according to ancestral custom perform their sacrificial rites. That they also repaired and rebuilt their homes and the walls of the city is expressly told us by Thucydides (*καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τείχη*, i. 89, 3). That the patron goddess of Athens had not forsaken her city was most strikingly shown by the miraculous growth of her sacred olive tree on the Acropolis, which, after it had been burnt down by the barbarians, was observed by those who after the second day went up to sacrifice to have sent forth a new shoot a cubit high. Such is the story told by Herodotus (viii. 55); but in the time of Pausanias the story had grown larger, for he tells us (i. 27, 2) that the sacred plant had grown a shoot two cubits high on the same day. There is little likelihood that the Athenians undertook to erect any new buildings immediately after their return (55), especially in view of the fact that they were threatened with a new assault from Mardonius, who in less than one year after the departure of Xerxes seized Athens anew and completed the work of devastation.

The men who are especially to be credited with the work of rebuilding the city and its Acropolis and of bringing it to a degree of splendor hitherto unknown and never again equaled, are Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles. To the genius of Themistocles more is probably due in the planning of this great work than was formerly supposed. But the opinion, until recently so widely held, that Themistocles or Cimon planned and began the building of the older Parthenon is now to be discarded in favor of the view convincingly stated by Dörpfeld, that the temple was begun before the Persian war (see p. 79), and may have been planned under the leadership of Clisthenes, the restorer of the democracy.

We can readily believe that the work of rebuilding the walls and defenses of the city and citadel had precedence over that of rebuilding the temples of the gods and the houses of the citizens. The architectural fragments of the

temples and sculptural remains of the statues and shrines partly burnt and destroyed would naturally serve, in so far as they were not available for repairs and restoration, as material for new defenses and for foundations of new buildings. This is especially true in the case of the ruins of those buildings and statues that were made of poros or Peiraic limestone, and were to be replaced by those made of the beautiful marble of Pentelicus. The smaller pieces and chips would be serviceable for filling and for extending the terrace of the Acropolis in those places where the sides shelved off more abruptly. This process is seen most clearly on the south side of the hill (see p. 81 below) where it became necessary to build out the surface in order to widen the area for the foundation of the Parthenon. But before we discuss the history of this building let us take up the difficult subject of the history of the walls that surround the Acropolis from the time of their restoration after the Persian destruction. These walls as they appear to-day present a confused mixture of building material and work, dating all the way from the Pelasgic period down to modern days. Just how much of this work of rebuilding the walls on the summit of the Acropolis is to be ascribed to Themistocles and how much to Cimon and Pericles must, with the insufficient data at hand, remain a matter of conjecture. It is traditional to connect the name of Themistocles with the northern and that of Cimon with the southern circuit wall. So far as Themistocles is concerned there can be little doubt that if the new theory of Dörpfeld with regard to the pre-Persian origin of the earlier Parthenon stands, the north wall is his work. The character of the masonry, which is somewhat irregular and the nature of the filling behind it for levelling up the surface of the Acropolis, show that this wall is older than the southern which is attributed to Cimon. But more than that, the fact that it has built into it the unfinished drums of the earlier Parthenon and pieces of its limestone stylobate probably point to Themistocles as the builder of this wall. For the statement quoted above from Thucydides needs not to be limited in meaning to the walls of the lower city, although doubtless it includes them. When, however, the same historian (i. 93) says "that the boundary of the city was extended in every



direction," we understand him to mean the circumvallating wall which was to enclose the entire city.

We agree with the view of Professor Ernest Gardner (*Ancient Athens*, p. 45), who believes that the lower town was surrounded by a wall at the time of the Persian wars is sufficiently proved by its description in the Delphic response as *τροχοειδής*, *wheel-shaped*, and that such a description could not have applied to the Acropolis nor have been suitable to an unwallled town. That Themistocles, however, intended to include the citadel in the line of new defenses with which he surrounded the city and its harbors cannot be doubted. The building of the south wall is distinctly known to be the work of Cimon. Plutarch in his life (chapt. 13) of that general says that this wall was erected with money received from the ransom of Persian prisoners of war after his glorious victory on the Eurymedon, and Pausanias (i, 28, 3) seems to have the same wall in mind when he says that the Pelasgi are said to have surrounded the Acropolis with a wall except so much of it as Cimon the son of Miltiades built. The south wall is therefore sometimes referred to as the "Cimonium." That Pericles made repairs in the walls, especially on the north side, seems probable, especially in that part of the wall (57 in the Plan) in which a breach was made for the purpose of transporting up the Acropolis huge blocks of marble for building the Parthenon. The height and thickness of the walls varied with the amount of filling required to make a level surface on the top of the Acropolis. The wall was highest and thickest on the southeast side, having in some places twenty-nine courses of masonry and a height of about fourteen metres (45 feet). On this side the foundation of the wall measures about six and a half metres (21 feet) in thickness, but in its upper courses the thickness averages two and a half metres (8 feet 3 inches). On the north side the wall is perceptibly lighter. The adjustment, so to say, of the walls to the enclosed rock has influenced their batter. They stand plumb and perpendicular only a part of the way from the bottom, above they batter towards the rock, the slope inward amounting to about two feet in the whole height. The walls throughout were built up so high above the surface of the Acropolis that one could not see over them.

With these general statements before us, let us now proceed to describe more in detail the characteristic features of the various parts of the entire circuit. Beginning our survey with the east end, we notice first of all a number of buttresses which are of mediaeval or even later origin. The buttresses



FIG. 21.—South Wall of Acropolis above Theatre.

on the south side are also of late origin. To the same period belongs a good deal of the surface masonry on the south side, which is of inferior workmanship and of loosely jointed blocks of stone. Here and there, where this covering has been broken through, the older and better construction comes to view. The best piece of wall construction is found at the southeast corner, where the regular and closely fitted blocks of limestone indicate the best period of masonry.

Another piece of this old wall is to be seen (see Fig. 21) in the lowest courses just above the Dionysiac theatre and the Asclepieum. On the face of the south wall, just above the theatre, Antiochus Epiphanes had suspended a gilded aegis with the head of the Medusa upon it, probably intended to serve as a charm against the evil eye (56). In this part Dörpfeld (57) recognized thirteen drums of columns of the peristyle of the old Athena temple which have been worked over into square blocks. In that part of the north wall that lies between the Propylaea and the Erechtheum are seen several architectural pieces of limestone, such as beams

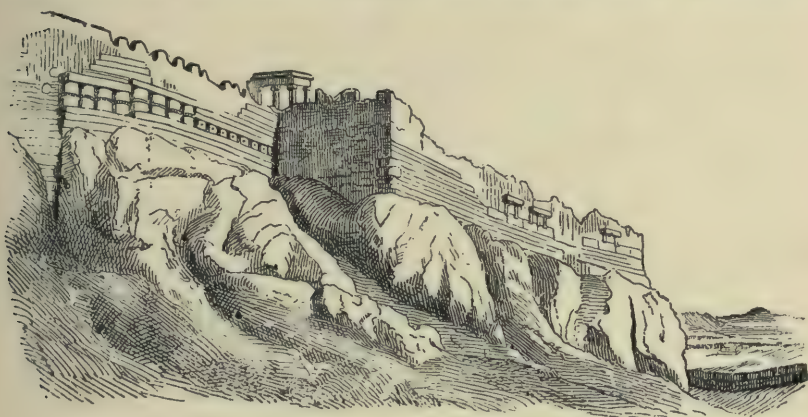


FIG. 22.—North Wall of Acropolis. Architectural Fragments built into Wall.

and blocks, triglyphs, a piece of cornice projecting on the outside of the wall, and several marble metopes, all placed in regular order. The regular position in which these fragments are built into this wall has suggested the idea that they were intentionally so placed in order to serve as a reminder of the havoc wrought by the Persians, and of the glorious deeds of the fathers who drove forth the barbarian. Even the modern tourist, who is often a good deal of a barbarian, cannot fail to be impressed by this ancient memorial of the ruin that befell the shrine of Athena so many centuries ago. That these architectural fragments belong to the old temple (identified by Dörpfeld) every one now believes. As already stated above (p. 44), the measurements fit the dimensions of the old temple. Two large cornices of coarse-grained marble



lying near this part of the wall appear to have belonged to the peristyle of the temple. To this also belonged the blocks of limestone mentioned above. The fact that these blocks show, on the inside of the wall, so little injury is taken by Dörpfeld as evidence that when the old temple was burnt by the Persians the peristyle and temple were not entirely thrown down. The poros fragments came of course from the cella of the temple after its partial destruction. It seems probable that all these architectural fragments are the relics of the old temple, never wholly restored, which were built into the wall either by Themistocles (which apparently is Middleton's view in the supplement of the *Hellenic Studies*), or, by Cimon, whose agency we cannot wholly disconnect from this part of the restoration of the ancient walls. Gardner (58) is probably right in supposing that Cimon completed the wall on the north side begun by Themistocles, and at the same time raised the level of the ground on this side some two or three feet so as to make a broader and more level platform (59). A little farther to the east, close by the Erechtheum, we observe on the inside wall a fine piece of ashlar masonry with a neatly carved edge, testifying to the careful stonework of the best period. Still farther to the east, we come to a part of the wall which has built into it twenty-six large drums of Pentelic marble (two a little separated from the rest), roughly hewn and left unfinished. The lower drums may be distinguished by the fact that they show where the flutings were begun to be cut. These drums undoubtedly belong to the columns that were to adorn the older Parthenon, the predecessor of the present temple. Several similar drums are lying about on the south side of the Acropolis and belong to the same building, which will be discussed later. It is now held by Dörpfeld, as already indicated, that these architectural fragments of the older Parthenon (60) were built into the wall by Themistocles immediately after the withdrawal of the Persians. The fact that they show marks of fire is one of the strongest proofs for the belief that the earlier Parthenon was begun before the Persian invasion (see p. 79 below). Pits have been left open by the modern excavators for the purpose of enabling students of the history of the Acropolis to see for themselves some of these remains of ancient buildings thus utilized. Still



farther east (62 on Plan VII.) a pit has been left open to expose capitals and drums made of limestone from the old temple of Athena built into this part of the wall. It may be proper to call attention once more to the fact that the Cimonian and Themistoclean walls correspond pretty nearly in bearing and direction with the natural outlines of the rock itself, and that the Acropolis did not originally show such a precipitous declivity but had a more gradual slope, especially on the south



FIG. 23.—Drums of Columns of the Older Parthenon, built into North Wall.

side, where the surface has been built out to serve as a support for the foundations of the Parthenon. Just how this was done will be stated when we come to discuss the history of the older and younger Parthenon. After the completion of these walls the old rock must have towered aloft with more grandeur than ever before, and must have awakened the pride of the Athenians. On these walls and bastions Athena sits enthroned in new splendor, as Aeschylus sings in his *Suppliques* (145), "Daughter of Zeus, who here dost hold steadfast thy sacred shrine."

The fortifying of the Acropolis at the west end, where a strong defense was especially important, must also have

occupied the attention of Themistocles and Cimon. Though we have no statement of an ancient author to prove it, yet, as Wachsmuth (61) says, it is inconceivable that the south side of the Acropolis should have been defended by a wall and no defense should have been erected to protect the entrance at the west. That the Nike bastion became again a strong tower of defense and defiance need not be doubted, whatever doubts we may have as regards its form and outline at that time in distinction from its later appearance and its relation to the Propylaea of Mnesicles. As Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 422) says: "The Pyrgos (tower) at the western extremity of the wall only lost its significance as a fortification by the erection of the Periclean Propylaea and of the temple of Nike." Its position is such that, like fortifications of the ancients in general, it threatens the right and unprotected side of the enemy as he advances. From its summit we gain the best view of the Saronic gulf, the coast line of Attica, the islands of Salamis and Aegina, the mountains of the Peloponnesus, the Attic plain, and the ranges of Parnes, Cithaeron, and other mountains beyond. It was from this cliff King Aegeus watched for the return of his son Theseus from his conflict with the Minotaur, and seeing the ship returning with black sails he thought his son had been slain. So he flung himself down and was killed. (*Paus.* i. 22, 5.)

From what has been said in the preceding chapter concerning the approach to the summit of the Acropolis, it is plain that at the level of the Nike bastion and in close relation to it there must have been an ancient portal, possibly in the earliest time the uppermost of the nine gates of the Pelasgic fortification that guarded the entrance to the Acropolis. This gateway was probably rebuilt (Judeich, *Topogr.* 62), in part if not wholly of marble, by Pisistratus. Marks of fire on the marble ruins found by Ross point to its existence before the Persian destruction. Dörpfeld (62) points out that the marble metopes of the old Hecatompedon were used to conceal and face the old Pelasgic wall that ran in front of the Propylon.

Let us now note more particularly what remains of this ancient Propylon can be identified. Adjoining the Pelasgic wall which runs across the southwestern corner of the Acro-

olis and immediately behind the south wing of the later Propylaea, we see the foundations of what appears to have

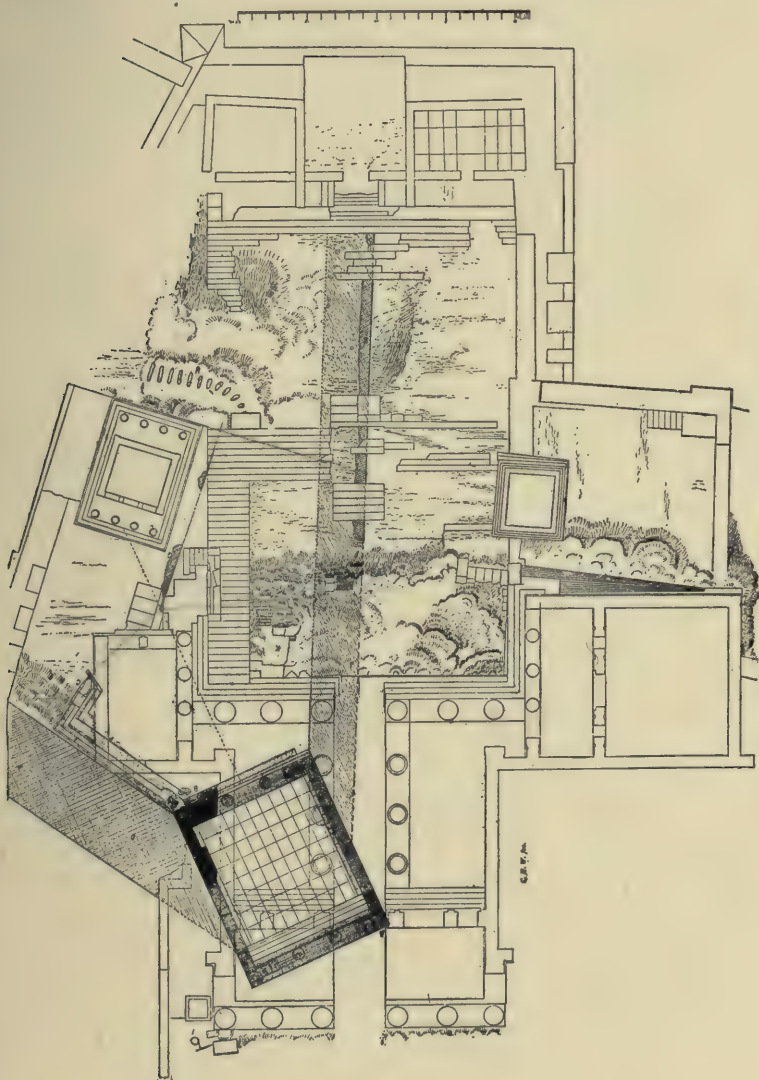


FIG. 24.—Pre-Periclean Propylon of Acropolis. General Plan.

been a gate-like building facing southwest. Of this building there remains first a wall, 4.75 m. (15 ft. 7 in.) long and 1.76 m. (5 ft. 9 in.) high, built of rectangular blocks, the



exterior blocks being of marble, but the backing of inferior stone. A short wall of fine poros joins this at right angles and is terminated by a marble anta. The anta and wall rest upon a stylobate of three marble steps which run across the front of the building and are cut off by the foundation of the Propylaea. That part of the wall that was built of poros or limestone was originally covered with stucco, which was painted. A detached fragment of this stucco still shows signs of color. The longer of the two walls mentioned above approaches the southern wall of the central part of the Propylaea at an oblique angle. The northeastern continuation of the Propylon may possibly be traced by cuttings in the native rock to be seen in the great central doorway of the Propylaea. These cuttings are supposed to be the beds in which were laid the blocks forming the lowest course of a wall, which if continued to the southeast would meet at right angles the line of the existing wall produced to the northeast. Outside of the old gateway, that is, in the triangular space enclosed by the southern wall of the Propylaea and the old Pelasgic wall, stands a base partly of marble with the marks of three fastenings upon it. This base was doubtless the support of a tripod, which had a central pillar whose bottom diameter is indicated by the roughened surface between the sockets for the feet. When the tripod was wrenched from its support the marble was broken. Embedded in lead in the sockets on the base are seen pieces of the bronze rims that fastened the legs of the tripod. Recent excavations made by Dr. Charles H. Weller, a former member of the American School at Athens, have materially added to our knowledge of this ancient Propylon (63). These excavations have brought to light two marble steps under the one hitherto known and supporting the anta above referred to, several rock-hewn steps below the base just above mentioned, a slab of the Propylon floor or pavement, and the lead-lined socket for a Herm, possibly of Hermes Propylaea, or for an inscription. By adding these new data to what was known before, Weller determines the general plan and the dimensions of the Propylon. The rock-hewn steps ceased at some point under the wall of the Propylaea, but where they emerge south of this wall they are constructed of well-fitted blocks of poros,



which continue in the same line for nearly three metres and then turn west in a right angle (C, Fig. 24). These steps belong to the southwest wing of the old Propylon and determine its southern limits. With these steps of the southwest wing, built close up against the Pelasgian wall, the shorter of the two poros walls makes an angle of about  $122^\circ$ . The relation of this wall to the longer poros wall and to the rock-hewn



FIG. 25.—Corner of Propylon behind the Southwest Wing of the Propylaea.

steps determines the orientation of the gateway, which is southwest and northeast. In this direction point also the cuttings in the native rock referred to above, which Weller thinks he can trace in at least one or two distinct parallel lines. These cuttings give also an indication of the boundary of the structure to the east, and, together with certain marked changes of level and differences in the appearance of the surface of the rock, showing in some places a smoothed floor, enable Weller to locate the position of the north wall of the

building. Accordingly, he finds that the Propylon had a width of 11 metres (36 ft.) and a length of about 13.5 metres (44 ft. 3 in.). These dimensions appear to be verified by calculating the area of the marble flooring, one slab of which is preserved. From the data that are obtainable, from the familiar proportions of Greek buildings, and from a comparison between this gateway and a similar one at Selinus, Weller reconstructs the elevation and the façade. The cut showing this restoration presents a structure with a Doric façade of two columns (4.165 metres high) between two antae that finish two walls (antepagmenta), enclosed on each side by two Pelasgian walls, a portion of the southern wall,



FIG. 26.—Façade of Propylon. Restoration.

with which the façade makes an angle of about  $122^\circ$ , being *in situ*. Can a similar wall on the other side, as is shown in the cut, be assumed? To support this opinion Weller calls attention to the fact that precisely the same angle is made between the façade and the prolongation of that piece of wall that lies nearly in the axis of the Propylaea (*E*, Plate I, *A.J.A.* 1904); and in view of this identity of angular position with the Pelasgian wall on the south side of the Propylon, Weller ventures to connect it with the Propylon and to believe that its southern face met the corner of the Propylon as the Pelasgian wall meets the opposite corner. These two Pelasgian walls would then be an integral part of the old Pelargicon, the apex of the angle between these walls being occupied originally by a fortress gate. "Then," Weller goes on to

say, "when the ornamental gateway was to be built that orientation would have been chosen which was in a way fixed by these walls, and the symmetrical appearance of the façade would have been determined." The piece of wall, however, which forms the basis of this view is polygonal and, according to Dörpfeld, was built in the time of Pisistratus to serve the purpose of a terrace wall. Dörpfeld believes from certain architectural indications that this structure was not completed when the Persians seized the Acropolis, and that the damage done by them to this gateway can still be traced by the marks of later repairs (such as the application of stucco, the use of new blocks of stone) which were made by Themistocles and Cimon in reconstructing the defenses of the citadel. The interior arrangement and construction of the old gateway is not indicated in Weller's restoration and plan. How far it conformed to the gateways of prehistoric palaces, like that of Tiryns for example, which had a front and a rear portico and two interior halls, with a large central passage-way, is a matter of conjecture. That this is the gateway referred to by Aristotle (*Athen. Polit.* 15, 4) and by Polyænus (i. 21, 2) in their account of the ruse by which Pisistratus disarmed the Athenians is undoubted. These are the only clear references to the Propylon found in the ancient writers.

That the leaders of the Athenian people should not be content with simply repairing the walls and defenses of the Acropolis but desire to glorify their citadel with more splendid buildings than those that had been laid low seems in itself most probable, especially when we take into account that Athens had now entered upon her proud position of leadership among the Greek states. It was a happy coincidence—and it was more than a coincidence—that just at this time architecture and sculpture were passing through a transitional stage from the limitations of the archaic type to the freedom of their earliest bloom. On the Acropolis art was now to be glorified and religion to be exalted. Right here where the foe had wreaked his bitter vengeance and raised his most sacrilegious hand new temples were to be reared to proclaim how Athens, by the gracious aid of her patron divinity, had conquered her enemies and gained new dignity and power. And not only by the building of new temples but also by the dedication of



votive offerings, such as the colossal bronze Athena Promachos, the grateful Athenians would signify their gratitude to the virgin goddess.

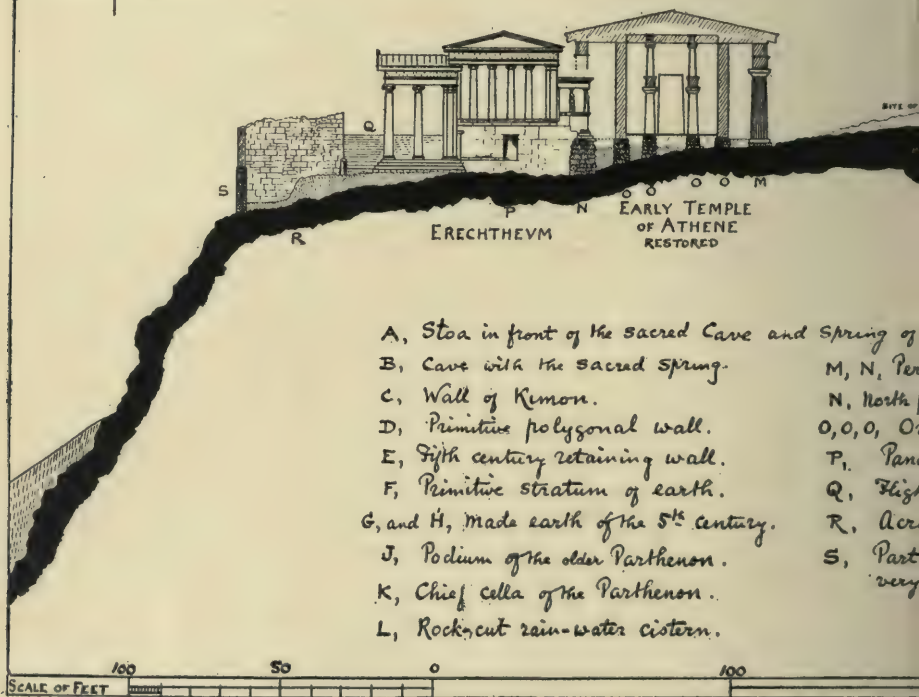
This impulse, however, came to its full expression only in the time of Pericles. But that there was an ardent desire in the minds of such men as Themistocles, Aristides and Cimon to replace the ruined buildings of limestone by more stately edifices of marble need not be doubted. For this and for other reasons it is not strange that in the prevailing opinion of modern scholars the names of one or the other of these statesmen should have been connected with the building of the great marble temple that occupied the sightliest spot on the Acropolis and that is known as the older Parthenon. Recent investigations, however, have shown that this opinion is not tenable, and that accordingly during the years intervening between 480 and 450 the resources of the state and the activities of her leaders had to be directed chiefly to the rebuilding of the lower city and the erection of new walls and fortifications to protect it and to strengthen its citadel. On what grounds the older Parthenon can no longer be connected with Themistocles and Cimon but must be dated before the Persian wars needs now to be set forth. The discovery of the existence of an earlier structure beneath the present Parthenon was made by Ludwig Ross in 1835 when he laid bare its massive foundations. He mistook these, however, for the foundations of the old temple of Athena destroyed by the Persians. This identification was later found to be false, for the discovered structure exceeded the length of the Parthenon, whereas, according to Hesychius, the temple destroyed by the Persians was 50 feet shorter than the Parthenon. Besides, the architectural fragments of marble and limestone built into the north wall of the Acropolis did not come from the same but from different buildings, having no corresponding dimensions. These difficulties were cleared up in 1885 by the discovery of the old Athena temple, whose dimensions fit the statement of Hesychius and the architectural fragments of limestone built into the north wall. But the question of the date of the older structure beneath the present Parthenon had still to receive an answer. The belief that it antedated the Persian wars was still





# SECTION THROUGH THE ACROPOLIS

FROM NORTH TO SOUTH



- A, Stoa in front of the sacred Cave and Spring of
- B, Cave with the sacred Spring.
- C, Wall of Kemon.
- D, Primitive polygonal wall.
- E, Fifth century retaining wall.
- F, Primitive stratum of earth.
- G, and H, Made earth of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.
- I, Podium of the older Parthenon.
- K, Chief cella of the Parthenon.
- L, Rock-cut rain-water cistern.

- M, N, Per
- N, North
- O, O, O, O
- P, Pan
- Q, High
- R, Acr
- S, Part
- very



Klapros.  
 le of the early Temple of Athena.  
 style wall, on which the Caryatid Porch rests.  
 al cella walls of the early Temple.  
 seion, at the west of the Erechtheum.  
 of 12 steps to the higher level at the east.  
 his wall rebuilt in modern times.  
 The Acropolis built by Pericles, with  
 ng blocks of poros stone.





held by F. C. Penrose (*J.H.S.* xii. 275, xiii. 32), who for architectural and other reasons placed this structure at least a century earlier than 490. This opinion found no followers. Dörpfeld (*A.M.* xvii. 161 and 187) attributed the older Parthenon to Cimon, on the ground that between the foundation walls and the lower courses of the south wall of the Acropolis built by Cimon, there lay terraces largely composed of strata of material ("Perserschutt") from buildings and various objects destroyed by the Persians. But when this conclusion was proved to be false on finding that an older terrace wall, running parallel to the Cimonian wall, lay nearer to the Parthenon, Furtwängler (64) attributed the structure to Themistocles and argued strongly for this view on political grounds also, claiming that the Parthenon is the building which belongs to the progressive party of Clisthenes, Themistocles and Pericles, and that it is most unlikely that Pericles should carry to completion a project begun by Cimon. The prevailing opinion, however, continued to attribute the older Parthenon to Cimon.

A new study of the foundations of the older Parthenon and of the terraces and walls on the south side of the Acropolis convinced Dörpfeld (*A.M.* xxvii. 379) that Ross and Penrose were right in holding that this building was begun before the Persian invasion. The most convincing proof for this belief Dörpfeld finds first in the marks of fire (formerly observed also by Ross) on the marble drums and on the steps of the building, and, secondly, in the nature and position of the layers of debris and their relation to the terrace and the retaining walls. From the marks of fire it is evident that the building was surrounded with a scaffolding that was destroyed by fire. It must have been begun not long before the Persian wars and under the impulse of national life created by the new democracy established by Clisthenes. That this period of Athenian history was marked by great activity in building is attested also by the construction of the Pnyx and of the new Agora at Athens, and of the Stoa and the treasure house of the Athenians at Delphi. As the Alcmaeonidae rebuilt the Apollo temple at Delphi, so it was the Alcmaeonid Clisthenes who undertook the building of a great temple to Athena at Athens.

To know the history of the older Parthenon it is essential to study carefully the terraces and layers of filling and the retaining walls on the south side. Formerly only two retaining walls were recognized, a polygonal wall running nearly parallel with the foundations of the temple at a distance of from ten to thirteen metres, and the Cimonian outer wall, which is much thicker and higher and is twice as far from the Parthenon as the polygonal wall. Recent excavations have made it certain that there is a third wall which lies between the two just named both in time and place. At the corners of the temple this wall is built of square blocks of limestone, but in the space

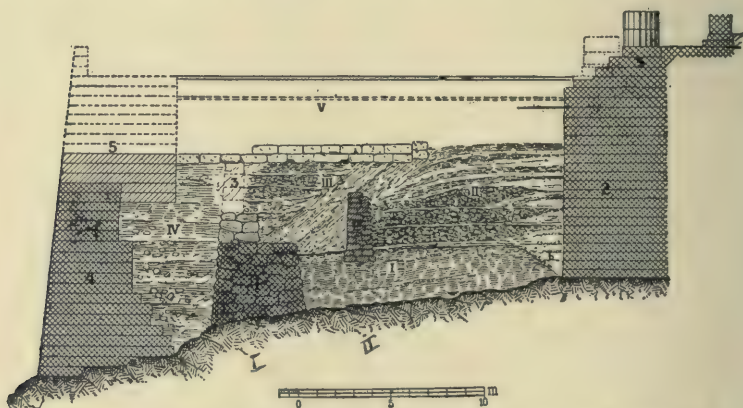


FIG. 27.—Cross-section of the different Strata south of the Centre of the Parthenon.

between the corners the old Pelargicon wall, built up higher, was made to serve as a terrace wall. An examination of the layers of dirt and rubbish used to build out the area of the Acropolis leads Dörpfeld to the following conclusions: There are four stages in the history of the foundations of the Parthenon, or if we count in the original situation we may enumerate five stages of development. These stages are indicated in the cut taken from the article of Dörpfeld referred to above.

(1) The Pelasgian wall surrounding the Acropolis, the original layer of soil on the slope of the hill, and Pelasgian houses. (2) The erection of the polygonal retaining wall, which kept pace with the gradual building of the foundations of the temple. In the terrace of soil and rubbish between this

wall and the Parthenon indicated by II no stones showing marks of fire and no pieces of marble were found, but only fragments of limestone. From this it is clear that at any rate when the lower part of the foundation was laid no use of rubbish from the Persian period ("Perserschutt") was made, and the inference is natural that the building in its earliest period must antedate the Persian wars. (3) The building of a new terrace wall on the top of and in close relation to the Pelasgian. As the foundation grew higher it was found that the level area south of the temple was insufficient and the terrace wall inadequate to hold all the filling required to support the foundation. The layers of dirt and stones fell over and beyond the polygonal retaining wall and reached to the Pelasgian wall which it was necessary to build up (see 3). This wall was extended to the corners of the Parthenon; a piece of it is still to be seen in an open pit at the southwest corner. The layers of dirt and stones, marked III, are a continuation of those marked II. Upon this terrace the foundations of the older Parthenon were completed, and the superstructure was in process of erection when the Persians laid waste what they found. The scaffolding that stood about the temple was burnt, leaving the marks of fire upon the stones that now furnish the most indubitable evidence of the pre-Persian origin of the older Parthenon. (4) The building of the great outer wall, still in large part extant, by Cimon, the so-called Cimonium (Paus. i, 28, 3; Plut. *Cim.* 13); the extension of the area by means of layers of dirt and debris, indicated by IV, and consisting largely of "Perserschutt," such as broken and more or less calcined marble drums, tiles, pieces of statues, and other shattered fragments of architecture and sculpture. (5) The Cimonian wall was raised higher and strengthened by Pericles in order to gain a still more extended area for the new Parthenon. On a lower level, which did not reach to the steps of the temple, Pericles built a workshop (see Fig. 30) whose foundations were laid bare in the recent excavations but are now covered up. The upper part of the terrace supported by this wall, marked V, has been left blank in the cut, since this layer had been removed by Ross when he cleared away the dirt and rubbish from the foundations of the Parthenon. But Ross states that in this layer he found chips



of marble and limestone and pieces of stone broken from the native rock. These pieces of rock must have been hewn from the surface of the Acropolis at the time when the Periclean temple was built and the surface to the east and north had to be smoothed and levelled as a suitable plateau. From the following cuts, made from photographs taken at the time of the



FIG. 28.—Southeast Corner of Parthenon, showing Foundations. Coarse Retaining Wall in foreground.

excavations, these foundation walls and terraces and their relation to one another can best be seen. Fig. 28 shows the wall at the southeast corner. In the lower foreground is a piece of the polygonal retaining wall (108 in Plan VII.). Near the upper right-hand corner at the east end of the foundation lies a heap of marble chips from the Periclean temple. The next cut (Fig. 29) shows the relation of the terrace walls to the



substructure of the Parthenon. In the centre is the polygonal retaining wall, near the middle of which we see a piece of cross-wall built as a kind of scaffolding for facilitating the work. In the retaining wall is built a stairway (110 in Plan VII.) by means of which one descends to the lower level of the Pelasgian wall that lies further south. At the upper end is seen a piece of well-built wall of limestone blocks, making an angle at the southwest corner. To the west of this is a pit, left open, (112 in Plan VII.) in which are seen blocks of Kará limestone



FIG. 29.—Foundation Walls of Parthenon on south side.

from the peristyle of the old Athena temple and a few marble drums of the older Parthenon. In Fig. 30 is shown the foundation of the workshop referred to above. In its walls are built unfinished marble drums which doubtless belonged to the older Parthenon. The accompanying ground plan, drawn by Dörpfeld, enables us to see more clearly the relative position of these retaining walls. The Pelasgian wall is marked *A, E, D*. The polygonal wall is indicated by two dotted lines. At the east end it disappears under the modern museum. The ends of the third retaining wall (of which the Pelasgian wall formed a part), are marked *E, D* and *G, H*. The Cimonian wall is indicated by two parallel lines. The workshop for

building the Periclean temple is drawn in outline and indicated by *N, M, L*.

The extension of the terrace of the Acropolis on the south side was both a practical and an aesthetic requirement. Without it the handling and putting in place the heavy masses of building material of the Parthenon would have been most difficult, if not impossible. And the appearance of so large an edifice so near to the edge of the sloping rock would doubtless have produced an unpleasant impression. An



FIG. 30.—Open Pit south of Parthenon. Various Strata of Debris. Foundations of "Workshop of Phidias."

examination of the position of the substructure shows that the site of the older Parthenon lies about one half of its breadth beyond the edge of the original slope of the rock, and that consequently about one half of the foundation is an artificial construction, rising in some parts as much as forty feet above the original rock on which it is based.

The thesis that the older Parthenon was begun before the Persian wars seems clearly established by the following facts: (1) The presence of marks of fire upon its steps; (2) the existence of marble drums (also showing marks of fire) built into that part of the northern wall of the Acropolis that was

erected by Themistocles; (3) the character of the rubbish found in the different layers that form the terraces built up to support the foundations of the temple. To confirm this thesis Dörpfeld adds two more considerations: (1) That it seems hardly credible that the Athenians would have used limestone (poros) for the stylobate of their great temple to Athena after 480 B.C. when in the period preceding the Persian invasion they had already erected several buildings of marble, such as the Propylon of the Acropolis, and the Stoa and treasury at Delphi. (2) A comparison of the

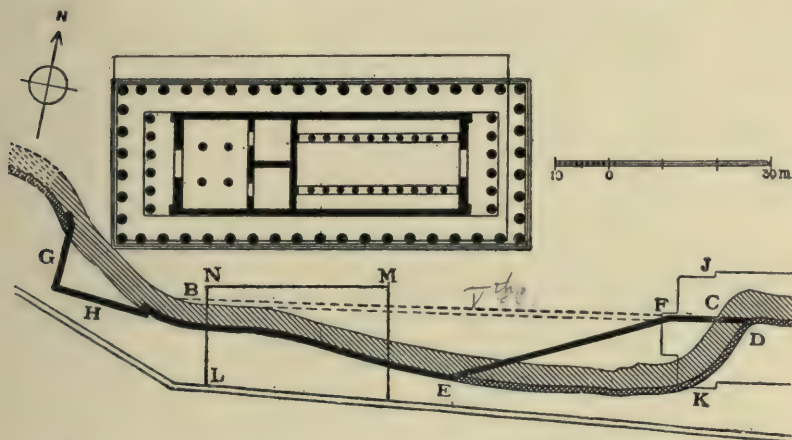


FIG. 31.—Ground-plan of Parthenon and of its Southern Terrace. Second Stadium.

distance between the axes of the columns of this temple and that of older and younger structures puts the older Parthenon between the old Athena temple and the Periclean Parthenon. In the peristyle of the old Athena temple this distance is 4.04 metres, in that of the older Parthenon it is 4.12 metres, in that of the younger temple it is 4.27 metres. That is to say, we find, as we should expect, a regular increase in this dimension in the course of the development of the Doric style.

Finally, it may be added that while in building the foundations of the Propylaea and of the younger Parthenon architectural fragments of older structures are utilized in abundance, only a few such pieces are to be found in the substructure of the old Parthenon, showing of course that

when this was built no such mass of this kind of building material was at hand as was manifestly available for the building erected after 480 B.C.

After this discussion of the date and character of the substructure of the older Parthenon we are prepared to consider the foundation walls more carefully.

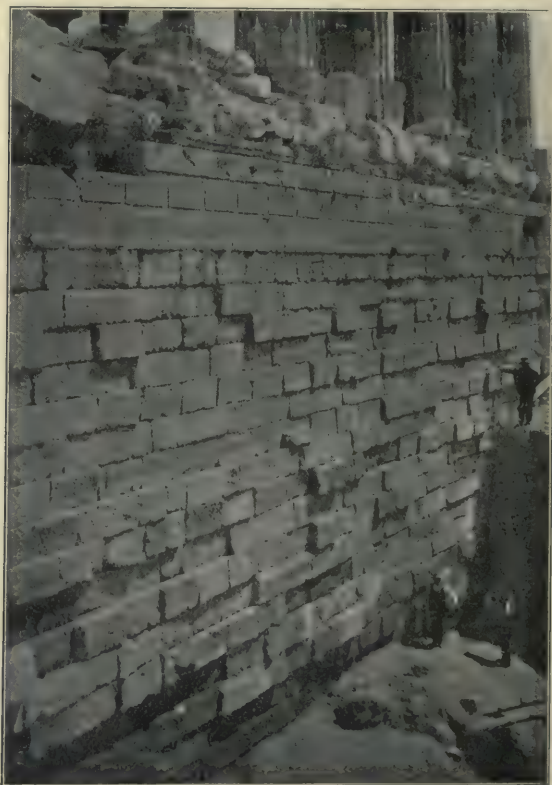


FIG. 32.—Courses of the Foundation Walls of the Parthenon, south side.

In doing so we must necessarily include in our treatment the foundation of the Periclean temple which was reared directly upon the stereobate of the earlier Parthenon. The limits and style of the substructure can still be traced on all the four sides, but with greatest clearness on the south side and at the northwest angle. On the north side and at the east end the larger part of the foundation consists of



the natural rock. On the south side of the Parthenon we notice the stereobate of Peiraic limestone carefully worked and extending about 1.6 m. (3 ft. 10 in.) beyond the line of the later Parthenon, and to a depth at the southeast corner of twenty-two courses. In the accompanying cut (Fig. 32) we observe that all the courses below the sixteenth are left unworked and therefore were intended to be hidden from view. The sixteenth (marked  $\times$ ) shows a smooth band or moulding cut on its upper edge. This indicates the original

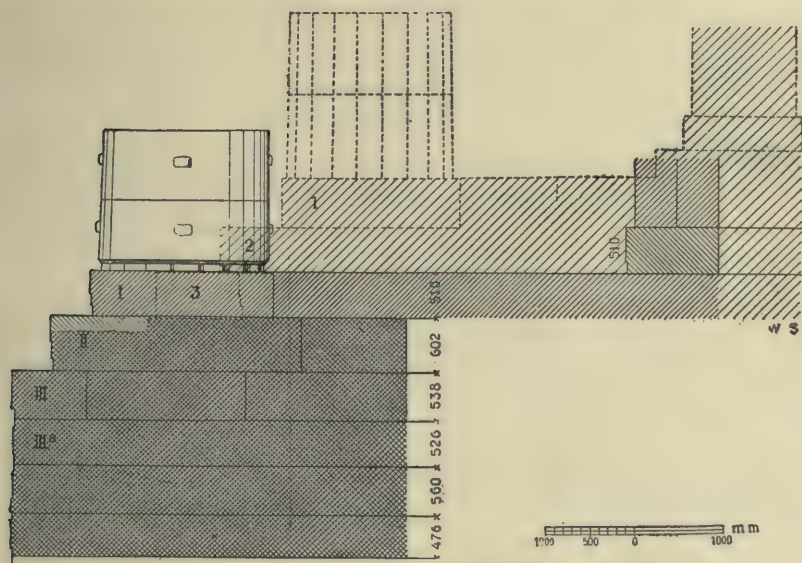


FIG. 33.—Cross-section of the Podium and Steps of the Older and Younger Parthenon.

line by which the dimensions of the structure were to be controlled and the superimposed parts were to be regulated, the course which the Greeks called the *εὐθυνηρία*. The eighteenth course, which consists wholly of binders, is carefully finished and each block shows a border and panel. The nineteenth course was worked smooth and even and shows on its lower edge a border of about a hand's breadth. Of the twentieth course, set back as a step, not much is preserved intact. That these nineteenth and twentieth courses were visible steps of the earlier temple cannot be doubted. It was supposed formerly that the older Parthenon had a stylobate of

only two steps, since immediately upon the twentieth course lie the three marble steps of the Periclean Parthenon. But subsequent investigations lead Dörpfeld to the conclusion that the older temple had the usual stylobate of three steps. The accompanying cut, taken from Dörpfeld's article on the date of the older Parthenon (*A.M.* xxvii. 383), shows in cross-section the relation of the stylobate of the earlier to that of the later Parthenon. The stones of the earlier temple still *in situ* are doubly hatched, the restored steps being



FIG. 34.—Northwest Corner of Foundation of Parthenon.

shown in single hatching, while the stones of the younger Parthenon have a still lighter hatching. The older steps are indicated by I, II, III, the younger by 1, 2, 3. The course originally designed to be the foundation layer of the older temple, and which later became the controlling course, is marked III *a*. Course I, *i.e.* the highest step of the older temple, became course 3, *i.e.* the lowest step of the younger temple. From a cross-section of the foundation of the Parthenon drawn by Dörpfeld it appears that the substructure is supported by huge piers, especially towards the south, and does not in the main lie directly upon the surface of the Acropolis.

Another remarkable feature of the foundation is the fact

that at the east end the part which belonged to the earlier Parthenon projects beyond the steps of the later temple about 4.28 m. (14 ft. 6 in.), showing clearly that the later temple did not coincide in its plan and dimensions exactly with the earlier one. This fact is further confirmed by examining the foundation walls at the west end shown in the accompanying cut. The extension of the later built foundation towards the north, *i.e.* the left hand of the illustration, is shown in the peculiar joint of the masonry just below the position of the young Greek, where we see large blocks of Peiraic limestone fitted into step-like blocks

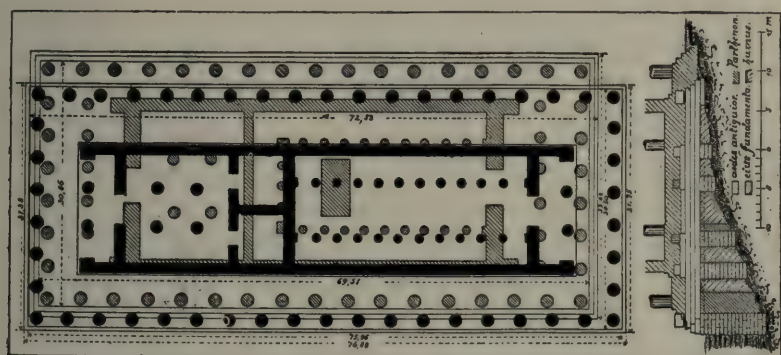


FIG. 35.—Ground-plan of the Earlier and the Later Parthenon, as drawn by Dörpfeld.

of marble. This cut, it may be observed in passing, gives one a good idea also of the construction of the stylobate, which rests upon large slabs of marble that lie upon the limestone blocks of the foundation walls. The relation of the earlier to the later structure may be seen at a glance from the accompanying illustration. In this cut (Fig. 35) the outline and plan of the earlier Parthenon are given in black in distinction from the Periclean temple whose outlines are given in hatching. From this cut we learn at once the outlines and dimensions. The breadth of the older Parthenon, measured upon the top step of the stylobate, assuming the existence of three steps, is 29.60 m. (97 ft. 1 in.), its length 75.06 m. (246 ft. 3 in.), while the corresponding dimensions of the younger Parthenon are 30.86 m. (101 ft. 2 in.) and 69.51 m. (228 ft. 1 in.). Measured on the stylobate the younger



temple is then 1.26 m. (4 ft. 2 in.) broader than the older, but 5.55 m. (18 ft. 2 in.) shorter. The reasons that caused Pericles to make his Parthenon so much shorter than the earlier temple will appear later. In his study of the remains of the older temple, Dörpfeld has shown that it was designed to be peripteral and octastyle and to have nineteen columns at the sides. That this older Parthenon was intended to be the successor of the old temple of Athena seems probable when we take a view of its interior plan (see cut) and compare it with that of the old temple. While the latter with its opisthodomos measured a hundred Attic feet in length, and hence was called the "Hecatompedon," the cella alone of the later built Parthenon measures a hundred feet in length, and came to have the same title. Now the purpose to build a magnificent temple whose cella alone should have this size must have been present to the mind of those who planned the older Parthenon, since otherwise the extraordinary length of this building as compared with its width seems inexplicable. From a comparison of the ground plan of the two buildings it will be seen further that there is practically no difference between the length of the cella of the older and of the younger Parthenon. It is also to be observed that the rear cella and opisthodomos of the older building, leaving out the inner or rear part which corresponds to the two middle chambers of the old pre-Persian temple, have about the same depth as the corresponding parts of the younger Parthenon. But the total length of the older exceeds that of the younger Parthenon by more than five and a half metres. But this is about equal to the depth of the two middle chambers (marked *D* and *E*) of the old Athena temple. From this comparison two inferences may plainly be drawn: first, that the architect of the older Parthenon planned his temple on the model of the old Athena temple, and second, that Pericles modified this earlier plan by cutting out the two inner chambers, for which apparently there was no need in the new Parthenon.

While there is a general similarity in the interior plan of the older and of the later Parthenon, there is a wide difference in the breadth of the respective temples, or more properly of their cellas. For let it be observed that, while



the difference in breadth between the two temples taken as a whole is very small, being only about four feet measured on the stylobate, the difference in the breadth of their respective cellas amounts to the difference between 19.18 m. and 14.05 m., *i.e.* 5.13 m. (16 ft. 10 in.), and the difference in the breadth of the nave of their respective cellas amounts to 3.77 m. (12 ft. 4 in.). This extraordinary breadth of the cella of the younger Parthenon was gained by making the width of the peristyle unusually small. In the old Athena temple, for example, the width of the peristyle is related to that of the cella as one to four and a half, whereas in the case of the younger Parthenon this ratio is one to seven and a half. This extraordinary breadth of the cella of the Parthenon (19.18 m., 62 ft. 11 in.) can only be explained by supposing that it was intended to provide a spacious apartment for a large cult image of Athena, who was to have her shrine within. Since we have no evidence that when the older Parthenon was planned this purpose was in mind, we may suppose that the proportions of the cella of this temple were similar to those of the pre-Persian Athena temple. But a more convincing proof of the change in the proportions of the cella to the other parts of the new Parthenon is found in an answer to the natural enquiry, why this temple was not built directly and squarely upon the substructure of the older one, but as we have seen was shoved quite a bit toward the north (65). If the new temple was to have a broader cella and consequently to be a broader structure it would, of course, be necessary to make broader foundations. But to accomplish this, in view of the lower level of the surface of the rock especially on the south and west sides, would involve a good deal of change in the substructure, unless it were possible simply to remove the axis of the building to the north as much as was needed, and then to build a single additional foundation wall on the north side, where the rock was nearly on a level with the foundation. But this simple recourse was impossible inasmuch as the stereobate of the temple was not a single continuous floor of masonry, but in part a series of separate walls and piers upon which the walls of the cella and the columns were supported. An incidental evidence that this is the

nature of the substructure may be found in the subsidence of a piece of the pavement of the later Parthenon, to be seen in the north aisle of the cella, some six inches below the proper level. The illustration in the text shows the manner in which the shifting of the foundations of the new Parthenon was effected most economically by taking every possible advantage of the earlier substructure. From a study of the above cut (Fig. 35), it becomes plain that the rearrangement of foundations and supports was as follows:

(1) The foundation wall that was to support the north cella wall of the older temple served later as the foundation of the north row of columns in the cella of the new temple.

(2) The foundation wall of the older south cella wall was used to support the corresponding cella wall of the new temple.

(3) For the south row of interior columns of the new temple the existing foundations for the same columns of the old temple were probably extended.

(4) For the north cella wall of the new temple the foundations for the north peristyle of the older Parthenon would serve.

(5) An entirely new foundation was needed only for the north peristyle of the new Parthenon.

(6) The south peristyle of the new temple was supported by the massive and broad foundations already built up for the older structure, which now may have been somewhat extended to the north. With this disposition of the foundation walls in mind, Dörpfeld infers the interior arrangement of the older Parthenon and its dimensions, as indicated in our illustration. Before we dismiss this structure from our view we should turn our attention to an architectural refinement which will occupy our attention also in our discussion of the younger Parthenon, but which pertains also to these older foundations. We refer to what is known as the curvature of horizontal lines. The earliest mention of this subject is made by Vitruvius in his chapter entitled *De Substructionibus* (iii. 4), which Mr. Wilkins translates thus: "The stylobate ought not to be constructed upon the horizontal level but should rise gradually from the ends towards the centre, so as to have there a small addition. The inconvenience which

might arise from a stylobate thus constructed may be obviated by means of unequal scamilli. If the line of stylobate were perfectly horizontal it would appear like the bed of a channel." Although in this passage Vitruvius refers to the construction of an Ionic temple, his language applies equally well, so far as the matter before us is concerned, to a Doric building. In modern times the curvature of lines was first carefully studied by John Pennethorne (1837), an English architect. In the next year Hoffer and Schaubert, German architects, communicated to the *Wiener Bauzeitung* their observations. Later Pennethorne published his results in a work entitled *The Geometry and Optics of the Ancients*. But our chief authority on this matter is the English architect Dr. F. C. Penrose, who in 1846-47 made his exhaustive and careful measurements which are embodied in his work entitled *The Principles of Athenian Architecture*, a revised edition of which appeared in 1888. In this work are given the following results so far as the foundations of the Parthenon are concerned: The first point to be noted is the fact that the corners of the foundation are not exactly on a level. The southeast and southwest lie higher than the northwest and northeast corners. Penrose states that the difference of level between the eastern and western extremities of the south stylobate amounts to 158/1000 of a foot. This difference must have been intended when the foundations were laid, or produced subsequently by settlement, or caused by subsidence or upheaval, which may have affected the whole rock. "That any settlement can have taken place," says Penrose, "is disproved not only by the nature of the rock, but also by observing that while at the northeast the bottom step of the stylobate is founded directly upon the rock and while the southwest angle rests on at least twenty feet of artificial foundations, yet the latter is nevertheless the higher by nearly 16/100 of a foot." Hence Penrose concludes that the Parthenon was built out of level advisedly, whether for the sake of beauty, or for some economical reason, such as drainage, or simply for the convenience of making use of the old lines of the earlier temple. He then goes on to show that this difference of level, which amounts to 158/1000 of a foot in 228 feet, or about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet in a mile, is so



slight as to be imperceptible even to an experienced eye and cannot be supposed to produce any impression of beauty nor of unsightliness. He further points out that this difference of level could not have been designed with a view to drainage, and next proceeds to demonstrate that the architects of the Parthenon followed the old lines of the earlier temple as much as possible and at the same time increased the curvature of the stylobate of the new Parthenon so as to be equivalent to 156/1000 of a foot in 100 feet.

According to Penrose (66), the curvature of the horizontal lines of the sub-basement of the Parthenon is as follows :

Actual length of the front and flank.	Actual rise above a straight line joining the extremities.	Proportional rise in a length of 100 feet.
Front 104.2 ft.	.150	.145
Flank 221 ft.	.233	.105

This gives a ratio for the front or end of the stereobate of about 3 : 2000, and for the flank of about 1 : 1000. The curvature of these lines was observed by him at the east front in the cuttings of the natural rock which were adjusted to the lines of the stylobate, and in the upper courses of the substructure on the south side.

The belief in the intentional curvature of the lines of the stereobate of the Parthenon has been attacked by K. Bötticher (67) and more recently by Josef Durm, who hold that these deviations from straight horizontal lines are too irregular to be designed and are due to depressions in the foundations, the Peiraic limestone of which they are built being too soft to withstand during all these centuries the weight of the superincumbent mass which they support. To these irregularities they think other causes, such as earthquakes and the frequent devastations to which the building has been exposed, may have contributed. Their views have been refuted by E. Ziller, A. Bötticher, and others. The most convincing reasons urged to substantiate the theory of the curvature of these lines of the substructure of the Parthenon are these :

(1) The lowest level of the entire structure is at the north-east corner where it rests directly upon the rock, while the



three other corners which are supported by masonry lie higher. From this it follows that no settling of the building has taken place, whether from a pressing down or weakening of the Peiraic limestone or from any other cause.

(2) The chief pressure exerted by the whole mass falls naturally upon the centre of the ends or fronts of the building and not upon the corners. Hence if a subsidence or settling has taken place this should appear in the centre, not at the corners.

(3) On the supposition of a settling of the foundations it would be impossible, especially in view of the uneven surface of the rock which underlies the foundations, that curves so regular as those which the lines of the substructure show should have been formed. Dörpfeld holds that the curvature of lines was more rigidly observed in the foundations of the older Parthenon than in the construction of the Periclean temple. We shall recur to this subject again in our study of the later Parthenon.

Before we enter upon the brilliant period which follows that of Cimon, we need to consider somewhat more particularly the finds of sculpture that belong to this earlier age, most of which have been unearthed by the recent excavations upon the Acropolis conducted by the Greek government. The richness of these finds and their importance to the history of art is apparent at a glance when one visits the Acropolis museum in which they are exhibited. In the space at our disposal we can discuss only those that are most noteworthy, and that briefly. The most remarkable of these discoveries is the series of marble statues of women found imbedded in a pit about fifteen paces northwest of the Erechtheum and close to the north circuit wall of the Acropolis (68). Marking different stages of progress in the art, they all have certain common characteristics which seem to point to a school or style of art which puts its impress upon them. This school or style has been supposed by some critics to be the Chian, for it is now held that the artists of Chios were the earliest to bring the technique of sculpture to some degree of perfection. These Chian sculptors may well have been among the foreign artists who were attracted to Athens by Pisistratus. Studniczka and Schrader point out

marks of resemblance between the figures of this series and the Athena of the pediment group that probably adorned the old temple (see p. 60). In the head of the Athena as in the series of these female figures, which German critics have dubbed "Die Tanten," we see exhibited the same feeling for soft contour and delicate lines that is believed to be characteristic of the Chian school. The statues under discussion, numbering eighteen in all, are now displayed in the archaic room of the Acropolis Museum (69). There can be no doubt that these statues were thrown down when the Persians sacked



FIG. 36.—Excavated Pit in which the Archaic Statues of Women were found.

Athens and that they were buried amid the rubbish that was used to fill up the holes and depressions in the surface of the Acropolis. Their chief interest perhaps lies in their richly colored decorations. From these we have learned more about the style and effect of polychromy in sculpture than from any other source. Our knowledge of early Attic sculpture, now supplemented by some of the discoveries at Delphi, has been materially increased, we might say with Gardner revolutionized, by the discoveries of these statues. No inscriptions and no attributes were found with them to indicate what they are intended to represent. Some have supposed them to be priestesses of Athena, or maidens who performed some sacred office. Others with more probability look upon them as worshippers who dedicated themselves symbolically to the

goddess Athena, possibly a survival of an actual sacrifice in primitive ritual. Such conventional offerings seem to be referred to in an inscription from the Acropolis recording the offering of a "maiden" to Poseidon by a fisherman. All we know is that these statues were officially called *κόραι* or maidens. That they were dedicated by men as well as by women and that they could be offered to a god as well as



FIG. 37.—Archaic Statue of a Woman. (Acropolis Museum.)

to a goddess, Gardner thinks is shown by the inscription above mentioned (70). Without giving a minute description of these statues, which is outside the province of this book, let us notice their characteristic features more closely. One of the most marked of these is the elaborate arrangement and delicate treatment of the drapery (71). The larger number show the style of dress that may be called Ionian. Gardner calls attention to the fact that the change from the Doric chiton with its brooches to the Ionic without these



may be explained by the story told by Herodotus (v. 87), how after a certain disastrous expedition to Aegina the Athenian women set upon the sole survivor and stabbed him to death with their brooches, and how in consequence they were forbidden thereafter to wear brooches at all but were compelled to adopt the linen Ionic chiton. Many of these statues show the following scheme of drapery: A tunic with sleeves from shoulder to elbow ornamented with embroidered borders. Over this a robe (peplos), often folded so as to form a cape (diplois), which is carried under the left arm and fastened by buttons on the right shoulder. The arm from which the peplos hangs across the breast is elaborately decorated. The folds of the robes are arranged in conventional form. In the treatment of the face and hair we find a more marked progress in the series than is to be seen even in the drapery. In the earlier statues we find the same wide-open and staring eyes that we saw in the Typhon or the Athena of the early pediment groups, only less protruding. In the later statues the eyes have become almond-shaped and are overshadowed by the brow. So again in the treatment of the mouth these statues show decided variation, but in all is seen an effort to escape from the unnatural grimace, "the archaic smile," of the earlier types. In the treatment of the hair we see a gradual approach to naturalness and a departure from the painful exactness of symmetry of braid with braid, although the conventional tresses hang over the shoulders and on each side of the neck in every one of them. Some of the heads had a broad band of metal or of marble around the head, making a sudden turn over the ears and appearing as a kind of diadem over the forehead. The hair falls in a mass or in strands down the back. The treatment of the hair on the forehead shows more variety, the favorite scheme being either lightly turned (corkscrew) locks in regular rows or symmetrically shaped strands in wavy patterns.

Particular interest belongs to these statues from the presence of color applied to them, which in some at least is still quite fresh and vivid. The use of color is, however, limited. In all these statues color is applied to the hair, and in most to the eyes and the lips, the pigment used for the hair, the



lips and the outlines of the eyes and of the pupil being red ; but for the pupil itself a darker pigment was used. The



FIG. 38.—Advanced Type of Archaic Statue of a Woman. (Acropolis Museum.)

peplos in some of the statues is decorated with gilded ornaments which resemble crosses, its border being set off with bands and a meander pattern, while down the middle of the tunic runs a richly adorned double meander border.

No garment is completely covered with paint, but the main surfaces of the statue are left white showing the natural texture of the marble, the beautiful tint of which is set off by the effect of the coloring. In some cases the arms had bracelets of bronze, in others the bracelets were carved in marble, and the ears were ornamented with pendants or earrings. In a few of these statues the eyes were set in, the eye-balls being made of quartz or crystal. On the heads of several of these statues were found bronze spikes (in one instance well preserved), rising from the top. Cavvadias surmises with good reason that this was designed to carry a disk or flat hat as a shade or protection for these finely colored statues. This would be similar to the flat-shaped hat found on many of the Tanagra figures. Possibly it is this covering that is referred to as *μηνίσκος* by Aristophanes, who, in his *Birds* (1114) lets the chorus say:

"But, if you reject us, then let each a little shed  
 Forge, like *lunes* o'er statues, as a shelter for his head,  
 Lest, without it when you walk in clean and white attire,  
 All the birds their vengeance take by covering you with mire."

*Translation by* PROFESSOR KENNEDY.

From this it would be inferred that these statues stood originally not in the interior of a temple but in some open precinct. Judging from the locality in which most of them were found and from their possible relation to the worship of the Athena Polias we venture to conjecture that they stood in a court west of the Erechtheum, possibly the same as that in which the Arrephoroi played ball (see p. 218 below and Paus. i. 27, 3).

Another interesting find of sculpture connected with the Acropolis is a statue of a seated Athena which was found at the base of the Acropolis on the north side just below the Erechtheum. Now Pausanias (i. 26, 4) speaks of seeing an image of Athena by Endoeus just before he makes mention of the Erechtheum, which was dedicated, according to the inscription upon its base, by Callias, one of the opponents of Pisistratus. This image referred to by Pausanias has conjecturally been identified with the statue that has been found. It represents the goddess seated, clad in a long tunic, the

folds of which are minutely represented. Long curls hang down on her breast which is covered with the aegis. The head and lower arms are wanting. The style of the statue is decidedly archaic, yet exhibits some degree of mastery of the sculptor's art. The marble of which the statue is made is not Attic but comes from the islands. The type of a seated Athena is not common in the remains of Greek art, though Strabo tells us (xiii. p. 601) that many ancient images of



FIG. 39.—Archaic Statue of Athena seated.



FIG. 40—Statue of Man carrying Calf. (Acropolis Museum.)

Athena seated were to be seen, and is instructive as a reminder of the Trojan image of Athena referred to by Homer (*Iliad*, vi. 90). From two inscribed bases of statues by Endoeus that have been found, one of them written in Ionic Greek and the other showing the sculptor's name carved in what seems to be the Ionic alphabet, it is inferred that Endoeus was an Ionic Greek and that he was at work in Athens in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. As we know also that Endoeus made a similar statue of Athena for Erythrae, the conclusion seems warranted that this archaic seated Athena is the very one mentioned by Pausanias (72). Though so few male



figures have been found among the remains of sculpture exhumed on the Acropolis, the large number of fragments (now in the museum) make it certain that in the crowd of statues consecrated to Athena and standing about the temple figures of men were not uncommon. Pious donors, magistrates, religious functionaries, Panathenaic victors, all these and doubtless many more classes were here represented by votive offerings. A few of the best preserved examples are the following :

A unique figure belonging to an early period is that of the so-called "calf-bearer." Gardner considers it the earliest statue in marble on the Acropolis. His account of the statue we give in part : "It represents a man, nude but for a chlamys thrown over his shoulders on which he carries a calf, holding its fore and hind legs with his hands in front of him. The material is Hymettian marble, and the work is rough and coarse, with none of the refinement that seems to have been induced by a fine material like Parian. The artist evidently trusts a good deal to the addition of color, as in the rough limestone sculptures. The eyes, of which the iris and pupils are hollowed out for the insertion of other materials, are wide and staring, and the mouth a simple curve. The calf is rendered, on the whole, with more success than the man, but that the anatomy of its joints seems to have been misunderstood. The basis of this statue has recently been discovered and contains a dedication in very archaic letters, which shows it to belong to the first half of the sixth century." Gardner believes that the sculptor intended in this statue to represent a worshipper bringing his offering for sacrifice, either as an actual offering or as a symbolical substitute for one. This statue is the best preserved male figure that has come down to us from the time antedating the Persian war, unless we except that of a youthful athlete (No. 698 *Catalogue des Sculptures du Musée de l'Acropole*), which Collignon (73) unhesitatingly assigns to this period. It represents a young man of robust form, well modelled and in easy pliant attitude. The head shows a type analogous to that of the Harmodius of the Tyrannicides. It is encircled by a curious diadem of bronze, and the eye-sockets are hollowed out for the insertion of eye-balls. By the side of



this head may be placed the head of a youth (Ephēbus) found in the excavations of the year 1887. This face shows, according to art critics, a modification of the Attic type towards a certain severity and simplicity of outline. It is the most perfectly executed of any of these male heads of the pre-Persian period, and is regarded by Gardner as the counterpart of the best of the heads of the set of female statues discussed above, like which it is supposed to show Doric influence. The coiffure of this head deserves special notice. The hair is drawn from the back in two long braids which



FIG. 41.—Head of a Youthful Athlete.

encircle the head and are joined over the forehead, where they are covered by a kind of fringe of short hair that hangs down on the forehead. This kind of coiffure Collignon thinks is the so-called *krobylos* (κρωβύλος), a style which came into common vogue at the beginning of the fifth century and was affected later by those who aimed to be followers of the good old fashion. The type of this rider on horseback is represented by several statues badly mutilated, to be found in the Acropolis Museum.

A number of interesting reliefs which antedate the Persian destruction have been found on the Acropolis. We single out first the one representing a man clad in a long chiton mounting a chariot; not, as some misled by the rich drapery have

supposed, a woman or a goddess. (See Fig. 20.) This slab is particularly interesting because Schrader (47) has discovered evidence to show that it was a part of the Ionic frieze of the cella of the old Athena temple which was added when the temple was changed from a Doric to an Ionic structure at the time of the building of the peristyle by the Pisistratids. Another relief in the same style is held by Schrader to belong to the same frieze, which seems to have represented a procession of divinities. It represents a divinity whom Collignon



FIG. 42.—Archaic Relief. Hermes. Probably from Frieze of Old Temple

believes, with some good degree of probability, to be Hermes. Clad in a tunic finely plaited and wearing a flat hat, the *petasus*, his head bound with a ribbon or band, the figure seems to advance rapidly, probably preceding and marshalling, like a herald, a company of gods and heroes. Not only pieces of sculpture in marble, but also numerous bronzes have been found in the excavations on the Acropolis. A few of the more important of these claim our attention. One of the most archaic in style figured here belongs to a series of bronze statuettes which are probably votive offerings. It represents a female figure, probably an Athena, thrusting with the right hand, the left hand extended as if holding a

shield, and wearing a huge helmet and the aegis. To suppose this statuette, however, to be a prototype of the great bronze statue of Athena Promachos from the hand of Phidias is unwarranted.

One of the most interesting of the bronzes is a kind of plaque, composed of two thin metal plates carefully nailed together, each plate separately cast and representing the



FIG. 43.—Bronze Statuette of Athena.



FIG. 44.—Bronze Plaque. Relief of Athena in Profile.

goddess Athena in profile. It was apparently intended as a votive offering to be fastened to a base. In spite of its archaic features this relief charms all who see it by the exquisite finish of its workmanship and the delicacy and grace of its outlines. Certain parts, such as the aegis and the countenance, show traces of gilding. Brunn (74) has represented in comparison with this relief an archaic relief on a stone coping round the mouth of a well at Corinth, which shows Athena in the same attitude holding her helmet in her left hand, and this suggests a similar restoration here.

Two heads of bronze are especially worthy of mention. The first, found near the north wall, midway between the

Propylaea and the Erechtheum, represents a bearded man, perhaps a warrior since on his head are to be seen the marks of nails and holes for fastening a helmet. "The hair over the forehead is most delicately rendered in a fringe of minute tresses," says Gardner (*Sculpture*, p. 208), "and the working of the hair and beard is beautifully finished, every hair over the whole surface being indicated by fine wavy lines,



FIG. 45.--Bronze Head. Possibly Aeginetan.

which, however, only diversify the surface, without in any way modifying the sharply cut outline of the different masses. The strongly projecting line of the eyebrows, and the indented projection of the eyelids, which seems to give the effect of eyelashes, are also most clearly shown." Critics think that the accuracy and conciseness of detail, coupled with the vigor and fulness of life seen in this head, show the influence of the Aeginetan school. The second bronze head is a more youthful one and of quite a different type from that which



has just been described. Art critics see in it the marks of the influence of the Argive-Sicyonian school, and compare it with the head of the Apollo of the west pediment of the Zeus temple at Olympia. The severe lines of the profile, the full chin, the protruding lower lip, the proportions, all seem to indicate a conformity to what has sometimes been called the Olympian canon and a departure from the Athenian type.

With this brief description of these the most important and the best preserved objects of art antedating the Persian

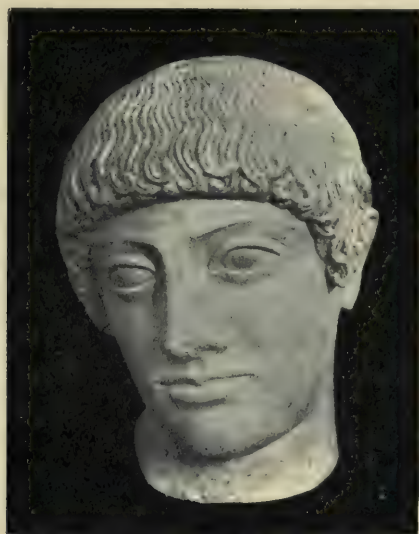


FIG. 46.—Head of Ephebus.

destruction we must be content, and refer the student to the catalogue of the collection in the Acropolis Museum. In this collection are to be seen numerous small objects of art, such as fragments of vases, statuettes of terra cotta, pieces of architecture, ornaments and utensils of bronze, discovered in the excavations made between the years 1885 and 1889, during which interval the whole surface of the Acropolis was dug up clear down to the living rock. The soil was turned over, sifted and carefully examined, and not the minutest fragment allowed to escape notice. Many inscriptions of great interest have been found, most of which

are deposited in the National Museum in the city below. It is not too much to say that these discoveries on the Acropolis have created a new chapter in the history of Greek art, a chapter which enables us to know and to appreciate as never before the Attic school of sculpture, which prior to these discoveries had been represented by a few isolated examples. We are now prepared to understand for the first time the true relation that exists between the art of Phidias and that which beautified the Acropolis before the devastating assault of the Persians. It is not difficult in view of these discoveries to bring before our minds the appearance of the Acropolis in this early time, and to see in our imagination the wealth of statuary and of votive offerings that filled its precinct and that adorned its shrines and temples. Only as viewed in the light of the greater splendors of the art of the Periclean age do the achievements of the days of Pisistratus and the ambitious projects and great beginnings made by Clisthenes, Themistocles and Cimon seem comparatively imperfect and crude. And yet, as we have seen, the step between the sculpture that adorned the old temple of Athena in the days of Pisistratus and the decorations designed by Phidias for the new Parthenon was an easy one to take, while the plans of Clisthenes for the older Parthenon were so magnificent that, had they been executed, this temple would have been lacking in no essential feature of beauty and grandeur.



PLATE III.

THE PARTHENON, FROM THE EAST AND SOUTH.

Facing p. 109.





## CHAPTER IV

### THE AGE OF PERICLES

"Athens illustrious, brilliant and violet-crowned and renowned, stay  
of Hellas, heaven-blest city!"

PINDAR, *Fragm.* 46.

WITH the banishment of Cimon (461/60 B.C.), Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, became the leader of the Athenian people. Every student of Greek history knows that under the guidance of Pericles, the foremost statesman of Greece, Athens attained to the zenith of her power. The time was propitious for the triumph of the arts of peace, and for the highest development of those traits of character and qualities of mind that give the inhabitants of "the violet-wreathed city" a unique place in history, and made the Periclean age the synonym of all that is beautiful in art, brilliant in letters, and remarkable in political history.

Soon after he had gained security and peace for Hellas under the aegis of Athenian supremacy, Pericles turned his attention to the great task of beautifying the Acropolis with those monuments of architecture and sculpture that in their pristine glory were the crown of the ancient citadel, and that even in their ruin are the admiration of the world.

While it is true that the effect of the political life of the Athenian democracy upon the later history of the world has been temporary and unimportant, it is equally true that the monuments of the Golden Age of Athens, as well in letters as in art, have created models which have powerfully shaped and inspired all forms of artistic excellence among the cultivated peoples of later times. The conditions for

the attainment of this supreme excellence in Athens were then most favorable. Not to mention the innate love of beauty characteristic especially of the Athenian Greek, we must bear in mind that the Athenian enjoyed every opportunity of education and of freedom to express his personality. Just at this time too the nation was at the height of material prosperity, and the national enthusiasm in consequence of successful resistance against the Persian invasion and of triumphant achievement of leadership among the Greek States was in full tide. A rich and unbroken development in art had been in progress for more than a century. As it was said later of Augustus that he transformed Rome from a city of brick into one of marble, so one might say of Pericles that he transformed the Acropolis from a fortress built of lime-stone to a sanctuary of worship whose shrines and temples were constructed of white marble.

His coadjutor in this work was Phidias, the Michael Angelo of Greek Art, who was then approaching the zenith of his fame. If Phidias, when he decorated the Parthenon, had not yet fashioned his great statue of Olympian Zeus for the temple in Elis, as some believe, he had already created the bronze Athena Promachos on the Acropolis. The chief architect was Ictinus, who had already distinguished himself by the building of the great temples of Demeter at Eleusis and of Apollo at Bassae, and whom Varro counts among the most famous architects of Greece. With him was associated Callicrates, the builder of the southern of the two long walls connecting Athens with the Peiraeus and Munychia. The traditional connection of Phidias with Pericles as a sort of minister of public works has recently been doubted (75). Ictinus, whose name is often mentioned alone in connection with the Parthenon, probably designed the temple, and Callicrates may have been the master builder.

### *SECTION A.*

#### THE PARTHENON.

The erection of the Periclean Parthenon appears to have been inspired by three motives. The first was a desire

to carry into complete execution the earlier purpose of Clisthenes and his associates and to rebuild the great temple in honor of the patron-goddess of the state that had been burnt by the barbarians. A second motive for building the new Parthenon is found in the desire to provide a suitable treasure-house for storing the treasures of the goddess, and also, in the opinion of some scholars, the moneys contributed by the allied states of the Delian confederacy at the head of which stood Athens. The transfer of the treasury of the confederacy from Delos to Athens made about 454 and the change in the administration of the finances which occurred in 454/3 may be related to the building of the Parthenon, a point to which we must return later. A third motive was furnished by the desire to glorify the celebration of the great Panathenaic festival which, as we shall see later, was portrayed on the frieze of the temple, and as reminders of which many sacred objects were guarded within. The year of the dedication of the Parthenon is generally held to be 438/7, at the time of the celebration of the Panathenaic festival. But the date of its beginning is still in dispute. If with Michaelis we place the beginning of the building in close connection with the newly organized administration of the funds of the Delian confederacy (453) we should allow about fifteen years for completing the structure. The condition of affairs at Athens, however, at that time was hardly favorable to such an undertaking, for this was the period marked by the defeat of the Athenians in Egypt, and the expedition of Pericles to the Corinthian gulf, and these are the years marked by the effort of Pericles to extend the sway of Athens against the opposition of Sparta and her allies. The funds of the Delian confederacy could not then be diverted to the building of new temples. But the armistice with the Peloponnesians in 450 and the so-called peace of Callias with the Persians in 448 changed this situation. With the year 448 begins the period when a surplus in the treasury arises, and the tribute hitherto applied to military purposes becomes available for building. We hold therefore with most writers (76) that the beginning of the new Parthenon is more correctly dated in 447. This date Bruno Keil believed was confirmed by the papyrus fragment known as the *Anonymus*

*Argentinensis*. From a study of this document Keil gained the information that new plans for rebuilding the structure on the Acropolis had been formed by Pericles as early as 457. But a critical study (77) of the papyrus fragment has recently shown that it is drawn from a commentary on one of the speeches of Demosthenes, and that the results of Keil's study so far as they pertain at least to the history of the Acropolis are of too doubtful value to be accepted as historic evidence. It is to be inferred, however, from Plutarch (*Pericl.* 17) that Pericles had formulated some general plan to rebuild the temples on the Acropolis, which he desired to lay before a Congress of Greek states that was to consider affairs of general interest. Just when this proposed Congress was to convene is not known. The probability is that the proposal was made soon after 457. As Plutarch tells us, it never did assemble. While the date of this proposed Congress is not definitely known, it does not seem probable that it could have been proposed earlier than about 457, but it may have been several years later.

An interesting confirmation of the opinion that a general plan for rebuilding the structures on the Acropolis was in existence before the Periclean Parthenon was begun, is found in a recently discovered inscription (78) recording an official decree to erect an altar and temple to Athena Nike, which epigraphists say cannot be later than 450 and may be a few years earlier (see p. 189 below).

That there was some opposition to the lavish expenditure of funds by Pericles on the building of these structures is clearly to be inferred from what Plutarch says in his life of *Pericles* (Chap. 12 and 14), from which it appears that this action of Pericles became a matter of political discussion, being regarded by his opponents as an unwarranted diversion of the funds of the Delian confederacy. But the prosperous state of the finances gave to Pericles and Phidias the desired means to consummate their design of transforming the whole Acropolis into a sacred precinct of Athena (79). That the projects of Pericles were sanctioned by the people may well be believed, and their enthusiasm may be the foundation of the anecdote told by Plutarch that when some one demurred to the large outlay for a particular piece of work, and



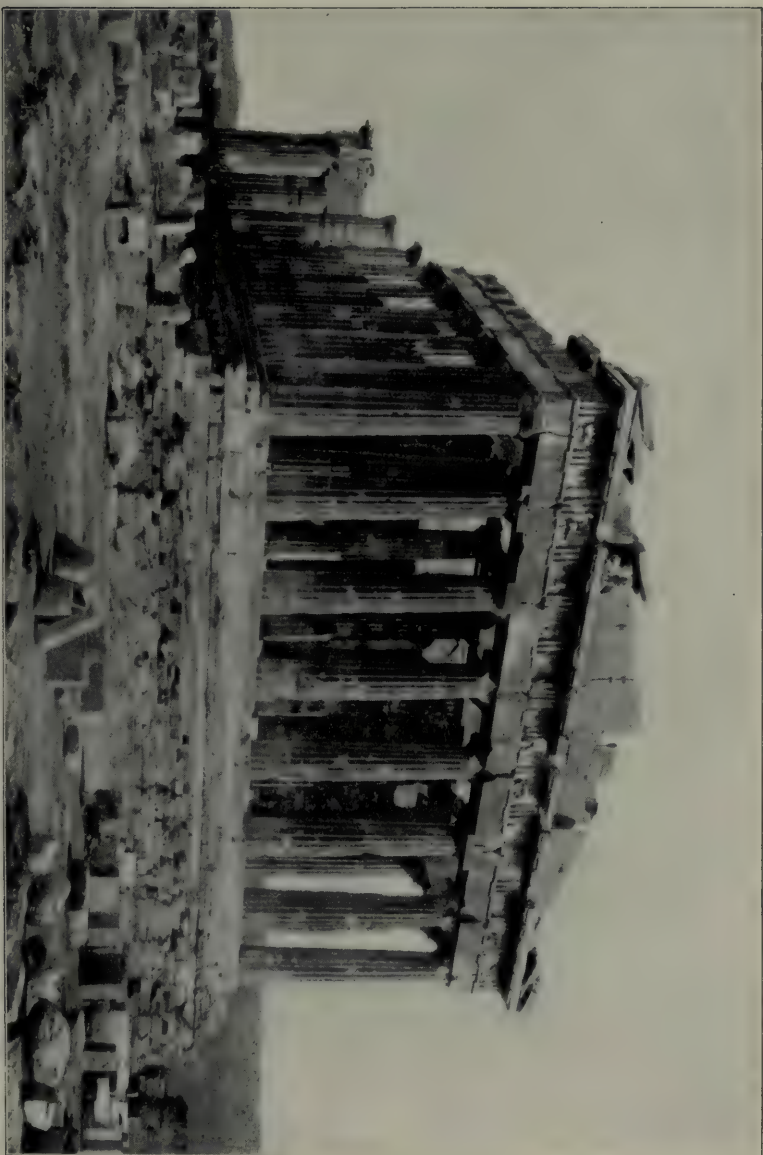
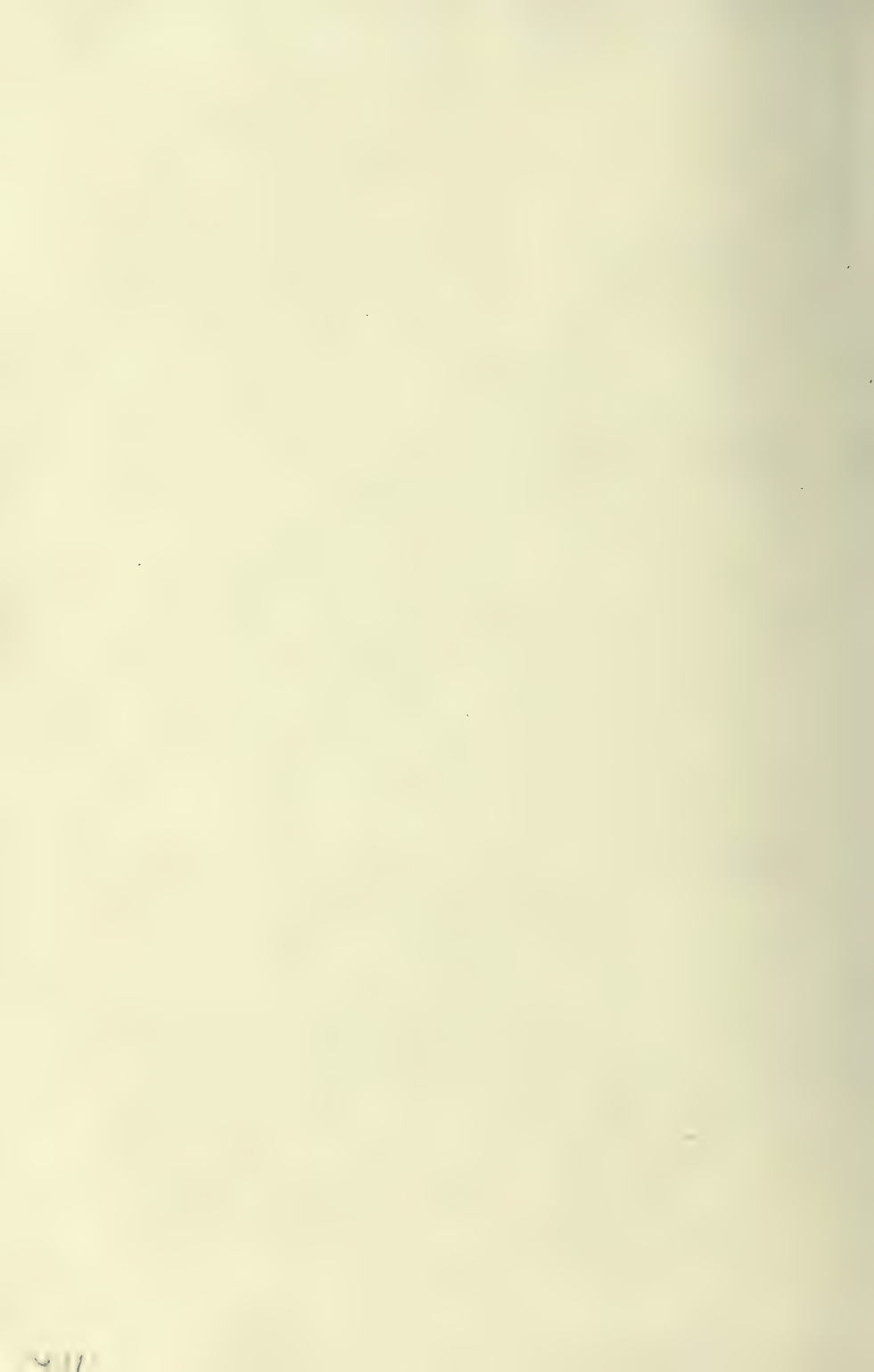


PLATE IV.

THE PARTHENON, FROM THE WEST AND NORTH.

Facing p. 113.



Pericles proposed to defray the expense himself from his own resources, the people were unwilling that the glory of the offering should be appropriated by him, and so, in the words of Plutarch (*Pericles*, 13), "the works grew, all-surpassing in their magnitude, inimitable in their beauty and grace. . . . Those structures, any one of which alone would have required, one might suppose, the work of many successive generations, were all finished in the prime of one man's administration. . . . Ease and speed of execution seldom tend to give a work lasting importance or exquisite beauty; while, on the other hand, the time expended in the creation of a work is more than repaid in the endurance of the work done. And so we have even greater reason to wonder that the structures reared by Pericles should have been built in so short a time and yet have been built for ages; for though each of them when completed was already ancient in its beauty, yet now, though they are old, are they still fresh and new as in their pristine glory. Time has left no stain upon them, a kind of newness sheds its bloom around them, preserving them untarnished by the ages, as if they were possessed of a spirit that can never fade and a soul that never grows old."

The new Parthenon arose, as we have seen, upon the massively built foundations of the earlier temple. Aside from the economic reasons for rearing the new temple upon these earlier foundations the architect must have recognized the singularly advantageous location for this structure from what may be called the aesthetic point of view. For this was the highest part of the entire plateau, and a building located here would give the beholder as he entered the sacred precinct from the Propylaea at a single glance the best possible view. This angular view of the Parthenon, to the right of one in passing through the great portal, revealing at once its entire mass and outline, betrays a remarkably well conceived plan. Dr. Penrose calls attention to the remarkable absence of parallelism in the location of the several buildings on the Acropolis, and observes that this lack of exact symmetry is productive of great beauty and exquisite variety of light and shade.

Upon the substructure prepared as already described (of. pp. 80-92), was laid the marble stylobate. The entire

structure from the steps of the stylobate to the cornice of the pediment was built of marble brought from the neighboring quarries of Mt. Pentelicus, with the exception of the wooden rafters and beams that probably entered into the structure of the roof and ceiling. These quarries lie about seven miles to the northeast of Athens, and are still yielding a large amount of beautiful building material. This marble has smaller crystals and finer grains than the Parian, and is slightly tinged with a faint cream colored tint, due to the presence of iron, which becomes deeper after long exposure to the air and may account for the yellow and brown tints that give a rich color to the patina of the marble as seen to-day. There are, however, some archaeologists who hold that this patina is due to a sizing or skin of calcareous matter which was applied to all the marble surfaces of the Parthenon. To this point we return later.

The plan of the Parthenon is that of a peristyle amphiprostyle temple of the Doric order; that is to say, it had a portico of six columns at each end, and in addition a colonnade which surrounded the whole building with eight columns at the front and back and seventeen at the sides, counting the corner columns twice. The three marble steps, ranging in height from 0.52 to 0.55 metres (the two lowest 1.69, the highest 1.81 feet), served as the base of the superstructure. From the highest step, the stylobate proper, rise the columns of the peristyle. Entrance into the temple was gained by means of a series of smaller steps, probably half the height and width of the three steps that form the entire stylobate. Their existence is still indicated by the weather marks left on the face of the large steps. The length of the temple measured on the stylobate is 69.54 m. (228 ft. 2 in.) and the width 30.869 m. (101 ft. 4 in.), which is 225 Attic feet in length and 100 Attic feet in width. This makes, as has already been observed, a temple much wider and shorter in plan than was the Parthenon of the earlier design. The well-proportioned columns are 10.43 metres (34.22 ft.) high, and have a diameter at the base of 1.90 m. (6.23 ft.). The four corner columns are a trifle heavier. The intercolumniation is about 2.4 metres (7.87 ft.) and is the same at the ends as at the sides, but is less at the corners.



The colonnade (pteron) is at the ends 4.84 m. (15 ft.) at the sides 4.26 m. (13 ft. 11 in.) in width, and supports a coffered

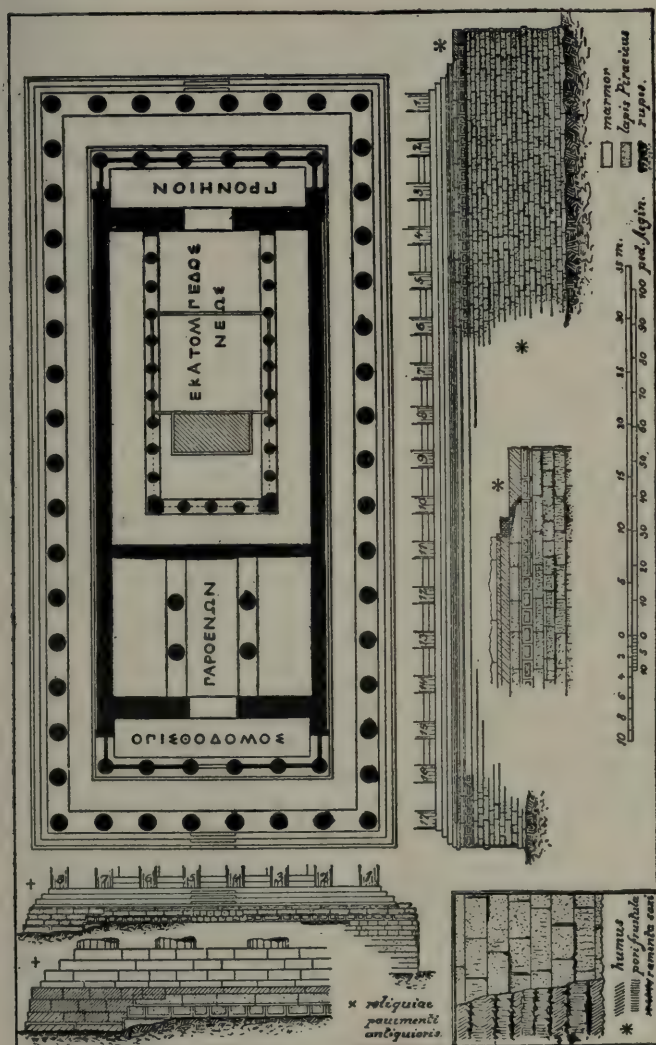


FIG. 47.—Ground-plan of Parthenon. Foundation Walls.

ceiling. The columns have twenty flutings, hollowed out as much at the top as at the bottom in order to produce as much shadow as possible at the top, where the effect of strength is desirable in close juxta-position with the strongly assertive

capital and the epistyle. This peculiarity of the column is said to be found nowhere else in Athenian temples. Attention may be called also to the remarkably vigorous and graceful curve of the echinus of the capital. The shaft of the columns has a diminution or tapering of about one twenty-fifth of its height, and the columns are so placed as to incline inward toward the cella. This inclination is especially noticeable at the flanks and amounts to about seven centimetres in the whole height of the column (or about  $1/250$  part of the height). The corner columns are more inclined than the rest. This peculiarity was first observed by Donaldson and is discussed by him in Stuart's *Antiquities* (iv. p. 11). The reasons for this inclination can best be given in the words of Dr. Penrose, found in his great work on the *Principles of Athenian Architecture* (p. 105). After remarking that a pilaster built with parallel sides generally appears broader at the top than at the bottom, and that the diminution of a column if it be but slight is unnoticed except by a practised eye, he says: "We may derive from this last consideration the necessity of the second adjustment, viz.: the *inclination* of the axes of the columns. For since some portion at least of the effect of diminution is neutralized and rendered so to speak latent in overcoming the disposition to imagine an excess of breadth in the upper part of the shaft, the upper diameter of the column appears larger than it really is, whilst nothing [else] prevents the upper intercolumniations which are greater than those below from producing their full effect. If the axes of the columns are [were] perpendicular the distance from centre to centre between the columns will [would] seem to be greater on the architrave than in the stylobate, an effect which will [would] become cumulative toward the angles of the portico, and the columns will [would] have the appearance of a fan-like divergence from the base line, unless this upper distance be diminished. The simplest manner of effecting this is by contracting the distance between the capitals of the extreme columniations, which contraction induces the inclination inwards of the angle columns and of the entire colonnade, both of the fronts and the flanks."—To this view Durm, the German architect, does not subscribe. In his *Baukunst der Griechen* (2<sup>te</sup> Aufl. p. 95) he denies that the

inclination of the axes of the columns is to be accounted for by optical or constructive reasons, believing that in this adjustment the Greeks followed an old Egyptian principle of construction, which in this reduced application of it seems to have very little meaning.



FIG. 48.—South Colonnade of Parthenon, showing inclination of Axes of the Columns.

Another refinement employed in the architecture of the Parthenon is the entasis of the column, that is, the well-known increment or swelling given to the outline of the column in the middle of the shaft for the purpose of correcting a disagreeable optical illusion which tends to give an attenuated appearance to columns formed with perfectly straight sides, and to cause their outlines to seem concave. The entasis, by means of which this is obviated, gives to



the profile of the column a delicate convex curve extending from the base to the neck. According to the measurements of Penrose the maximum entasis in the shaft of the columns of the Parthenon is .057 and is seen at the height of about two-fifths of the column. By doubling this amount Penrose gets for the entasis on opposite sides of the column a maximum departure from a straight-lined shaft of about  $1/55$  of the lower diameter. By this refinement not only was an appearance of contraction and weakness in the central parts of the shaft avoided, but also the monotony of perfectly straight lines.

Attention has been called above (p. 92) to the curvature of the lines of the foundations of the earlier Parthenon. This refinement was not neglected by the builders of the younger temple, the rise of the line of the stylobate at the ends of the building being in the ratio of 1 : 1000, at the sides of 2 : 3000, or nearly 3 inches at the middle of the ends and a little more than four inches at the middle of each side. It cannot be doubted that this curvature of the horizontal lines was intended to correct an optical illusion, by which a long horizontal straight line, with a number of vertical lines resting upon it, appears to the eye to sink in the middle and to rise towards the ends. These curved lines are not entirely regular, but sufficiently so as to preclude the idea that they were accidental. It does not, however, follow that they were laid out with mathematical calculation. A trained eye and hand and a feeling for perfection of form would suffice to guide the architect. This departure from the hard mathematical lines of plumb and level shows itself also in the other parts of the building. The architects who have studied the details of the construction of the Parthenon call attention to the fact that there is not a straight line of any great length nor a single vertical surface exactly plumb in the entire building. The cella wall batters inward as do also the architrave and triglyph frieze, while the cornice and the antefix lean forward. A similar departure from a straight line is seen in the lines of the oblique cornices of the gables which are gently deflected towards the corners so as to be concave, thus producing an effect of rest and quiet. These delicate deviations from hard and fast mathematical



lines, often hardly noticeable even to the trained eye, produce in their totality an impression of elasticity and rhythm which every beholder feels as he looks with admiration upon this structure so full of life and grace. The secret of nature which knows no rigid mathematical lines has been overheard by Phidias and Ictinus and applied in the gentle curves of the lines of the architecture. The columns of the Parthenon are placed on the joints of two slabs of the stylobate and consist in most instances of twelve frusta or drums of unequal height.



FIG. 49.—North Side of Parthenon, showing Curvature of Horizontal Lines.

Since the line of the stylobate described a gentle convex curve, as we have seen, the architect had to adjust the columns to this line. The exactness with which this curve had to be calculated and the allowances that had to be made for it can best be observed by an examination of the corner columns. These stood upon a bed that sloped both ways, and the lowest drums had to make the adjustment to the stylobate. The bottom of the columns, that is the under surface of the lowest drum, was not let down into the stylobate nor in any way united with it but stood free upon it. Now to make the correction or adjustment with the slope of the stylobate

the lowest drum was not cut with its upper and lower surfaces parallel, but with a variation of nearly two inches in thickness between the inner and outer side of the column. This gives an inward inclination to the column. The topmost drum was cut in the same way, except that its faces are made to incline outward and its upward level which joins to the capital lies plumb. The axis of the column rises in a line perpendicular to the upper face of the lowest drum, and this axis is maintained throughout in the adjustment of all



FIG. 50.—Drum of Column of Parthenon.

the drums which lie with their faces parallel to it. To this wonderful perfection of proportion and remarkable beauty of outline were added the greatest precision and delicacy of mechanical workmanship. From the unfinished drums of the older Parthenon that lie to the south of the temple, and from the fallen columns of the Periclean temple we can see the means by which this extraordinary perfection was attained. The process of fashioning these perfect columns appears to have been as follows: The drums were first cut in rude form in the quarry. Then the levels or faces were carefully cut and smoothed down. For more convenient handling four

bosses, *ears* they were called by the Greeks, were left on opposite sides for the application of ropes and levers. The joint surfaces were carefully prepared before the drums were placed together to form the column. Each drum has at the centre of its face a square hole surrounded by a round and smoothly worked surface, which in turn is inclosed in a zone roughly hewn. All the rest of the face of the drum is smoothly worked and carefully dressed. The square holes were intended to receive wooden dowels or plugs. So perfectly air-tight were the joints that in some cases the wooden plug that fitted into this hole has been preserved, as may be seen from examples preserved in the Acropolis Museum. This wooden plug had inserted in its middle a cylindrical peg which projected so as to fit into a corresponding hole in the adjoining drum. This peg probably served the purpose of exact adjustment when the drums were placed in position to erect the column. The solid construction of the shaft from separate drums was effected by revolving each drum upon the next below it around the peg set into the wooden plug. The roughly dressed and depressed zone around the square hole that held the plug would receive any superfluous marble dust that was rubbed off in the process of finally adjusting the drums to form the shaft. The weight of the column was borne on a broad zone all round the edges of the drum, the rest of the surface being slightly sunk. It was doubtless found to be easier to secure a perfectly fine bed-joint by this means than if the column had been constructed of drums whose surfaces bore on one another throughout. Thus a remarkable fineness of joints was secured, the line of the joint being so fine as to be scarcely perceptible to the eye. The channels or flutes of the column were cut only for a short distance upon the highest and lowest drums to give fixed points for guiding the curved line which formed the entasis of the column. Only when the column was built up completely was the fluting with entasis of the shaft finished. On the Acropolis, lying in front of the modern museum, may be seen several bottom drums, belonging to the columns of the older Parthenon, with the flutings worked on their lower portion only. The topmost part of each column includes not only the top of the shaft but also the echinus and abacus



of the capital. The Doric capital attained its highest beauty in the columns of the Parthenon. The vigorous and graceful line of the echinus merits especial attention. It is drawn out from the neck of the column with a bold almost straight upward stroke until it comes nearly under the edge of the abacus, when it turns in a sharp yet graceful curve under the edge of the rectangular member. A band of four delicate

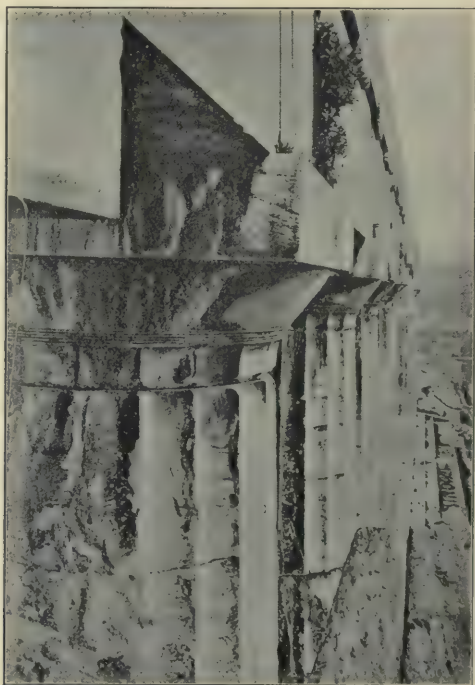


FIG. 51.—Capitals of the South Colonnade of Parthenon.

annulets decorates the base of the capital. In the erection of the column precaution against chipping was taken and effected by cutting the flutings only after the entire shaft was up. By this means the perfect joints were unharmed. The only exception was in the case of the top joint, which always appears distinctly as a dark line round the finished column. This results from the fact that the edge of the fluting of the top blocks, which had to be finished before it was put in place, is bevelled away and the real joint



begins a little distance from the edge. In this way, again, the delicate edge of the fluting was preserved from chipping.

Upon the outer columns lay the beams of the epistyle, slightly inclined inward. Since the quarries of Mt. Pentelicus did not then yield blocks of marble sufficiently large to furnish beams of the requisite dimensions to form the architrave,



FIG. 52.—Section of Parthenon, showing Construction of Epistyle. Restoration.

this member was made up of three pieces placed edgeways side by side. But the effect, except when seen from below, was that of a simple block stretching from column to column. On its upper edge the architrave is crowned with a coping or band, which was decorated with a meander design, and from which the regulae depended, suggestive of the triglyphs immediately above. As in all Doric temples, the frieze of triglyphs and metopes forms the next architectural member.

The blocks on which the triglyphs were carved were set above the architrave on the outside. Over the corresponding inner block of the architrave was a row of plain slabs decorated at the top with a curved moulding or cymatium, which still shows in many places the traces of a painted pattern of the meander type. On these inner slabs rested the marble beams that supported the panelled ceiling of the peristyle. The triglyphs, which were of exactly the same height as the architrave, fifteen on each front and thirty-three on each flank, enclose the metopes, the thin slabs of which were dropped from above into the grooves cut on either side of the blocks of the triglyphs. The metopes offered available space for sculptural adornment. The character of this sculpture will be discussed later. Here we note simply that it was in high relief, for which a suitable framework was furnished by the projecting mouldings above and below. Horizontal slabs lay immediately above the blocks of the triglyphon projecting externally to form the geison or cornice. This member, which is cut under to a depth of 11 centimetres, with its downward projecting surface technically called the soffit, served as a protection to the underlying parts, more particularly the sculpture of the metopes. The soffit is adorned with square and flat projections, the so-called mutules, on each of which are eighteen guttae hanging down vertically. The mutules correspond with the alternating triglyphs and metopes. By this means the weight of the projecting part of the cornice is somewhat diminished, and the setting back of the rain-water prevented. The cornice was crowned at the upper edge by a small moulding. From this horizontal cornice, sometimes called the corona, rises the oblique cornice which encloses the triangular field of the pediment. This cornice consists of plain blocks bordered by a Lesbian cyma. In no other point is the delicate and refined taste of the architect so clearly displayed as in the use and combination of the various forms of mouldings with which he adorned the surfaces of the Parthenon. Says Penrose: "The perfection of these both in design and execution, occupying as they do an intermediate place between the decorated sculptures of the frieze and the pediment and the simple lines of the architecture, produces on the mind a feeling of richness so admirably chastened as not to inter-

tere with their reserved beauty and almost severe majesty." In most Attic-Doric buildings there is no gutter at the sides. In the Parthenon the sima or cornice turned at the corners of the gable and ended abruptly in lion heads, which served as ornamental water-spouts. The triangular space enclosed by the cornices was faced with marble slabs to

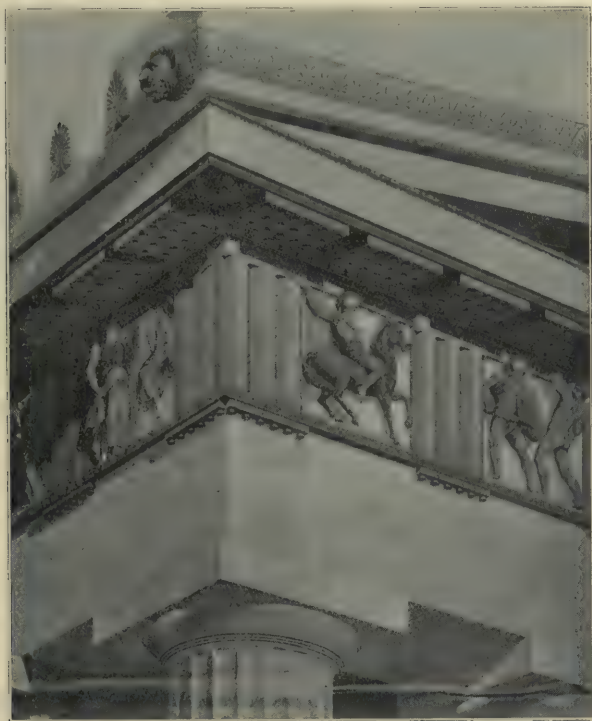


FIG. 53.—Northwest Corner of Epistyle of Parthenon. Restoration.

form a background to the pediment. The gable of the Parthenon rises very nearly in the ratio of 6 to 25. The height of the gable including the cornice is given by Penrose as 12.64 feet above the level of the horizontal cornice. The dimensions of the tympanum, that is the field or background of the gable, are as follows: length 28.35 m. (93 ft. 1 in.), height 3.46 m. (11 ft. 5 in.), depth 0.91 m. (2 ft. 11 in.). It leaned slightly forward. The field of the gable thus enclosed offered an ideal place for the display of groups of



sculpture. These we shall discuss later on. That it was the original intention of the builders to adorn the pediments with statuary is shown by the presence of pieces of iron bars and clamps fastened in the marble blocks of the gable and intended to support and hold in place the larger pieces of sculpture. Upon the apex of the gable stood on a marble basis a large carved ornament in the form of an anthemion, an akroterion as it is technically known, while the corners



FIG. 54.—Head of Lion on Cornice of Parthenon.

were embellished probably with golden or bronze jars or tripods. The roof construction of the Parthenon cannot be definitely determined in every detail, since few remains of ancient Greek temples show any sure indications of the original roof structure, and there is therefore every reason to believe that its material was largely of a perishable nature. There is every reason to believe that the roof was borne by wooden beams and rafters on which rested the marble tiles. The opinion held by some that these tiles were of Parian rather than Pentelic marble, because the superior trans-



parency of the former would aid in the lighting of the interior, does not commend itself, when we reflect that the tiles must have been laid upon the wooden framework of the roof, and that the cella of the temple must have had some kind of a ceiling. Bötticher accepts a wooden ceiling for the cella and the rear chamber ("parthenon"), but marble for the halls which opened upon the peristyle, while Michaelis holds that the rear chamber also had a marble ceiling, which was borne by the four Ionic columns

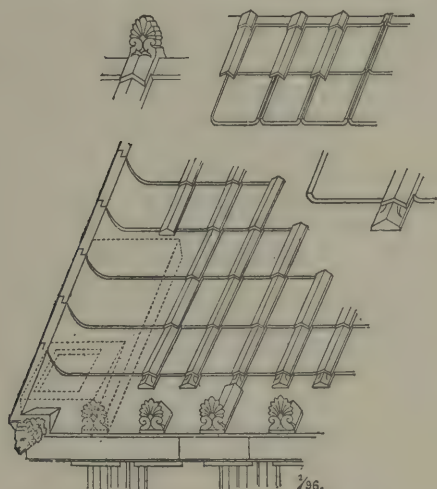


FIG. 55.—Restored Construction of Tile Roof of Parthenon. (Penrose.)

whose position can still be verified, an opinion which Dörpfeld regards as untenable. The marble tiles were of two kinds, *viz.* large flat tiles ridged at the edges (*σολήνες*), and small saddle-tiles (*καλυπτήρες*) which were placed on the joints of the former (80). A coping covered the ridge of the roof. The saddle tiles did not extend at the sides clear to the eaves, but stopped short, leaving room for a decorative ornament in the form of a row of antefixes, which produced the effect of finials to the rows of tiles.

The real temple, the naos, is surrounded by the colonnade as by a crown. The naos rises 0.70 m. (2 ft. 3 in.) above the stylobate, rests upon two steps and has a portico at each end formed by six Doric columns of somewhat smaller

dimensions than those of the peristyle. The dimensions of the temple proper are 21.76 m. (71 ft. 4 in.) in width and 59.09 m. (193 ft. 9 in.) in length. The side walls, which have a thickness of 1.17 m. (3 ft. 10 in.), end in antae. The walls are built of blocks of marble in alternate courses of runners and binders. The lowest course consists of a double row of huge blocks twice the length and more than double the

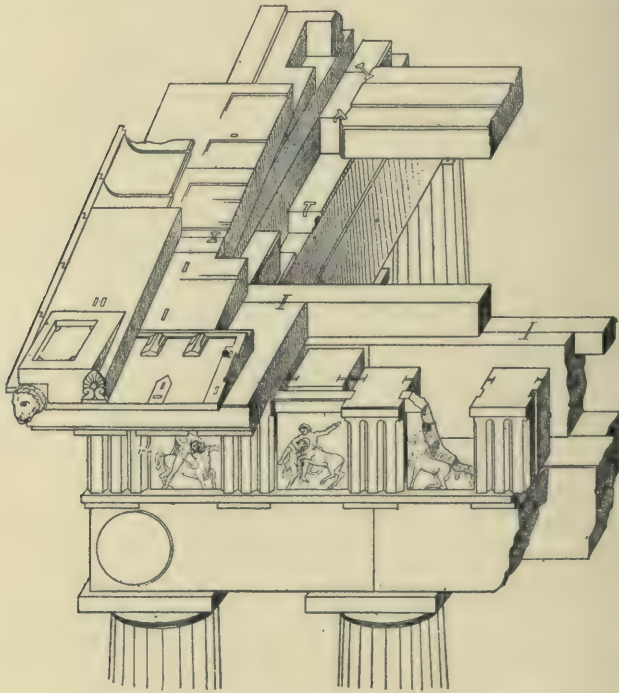



FIG. 56.—Construction of Entablature of Parthenon. (Penrose.)

height of the regular blocks, placed edgewise and known as orthostatae. In building the wall no mortar or cement was used, but the blocks of marble were carefully fitted together and bound fast by means of iron clamps of this shape  led into the marble, while the blocks were held from slipping upon one another by means of small iron dowels fitted into mortices and secured by lead. A continuous architrave lies upon the four walls, which is marked off at the upper edge by a moulding from which regulae and guttae

depend (like those which are found below the triglyphon) at the ends, but not, as Dörpfeld has pointed out, at the sides



FIG. 57.—Frieze, Ceiling of Peristyle of Parthenon. Restoration.

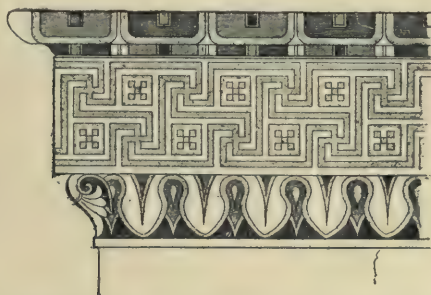


FIG. 57 a.—Meander and Cymatia Decoration above Frieze of Cella. (Penrose.)

of the building. Instead of the Doric frieze of triglyph and metope the cella wall has an Ionic frieze of relief sculpture

(ζωφόρος) girdling it about as with a band of beauty for nearly 160 metres (525 ft.). Above the frieze, whose sculptural ornamentation will be discussed below, runs a Lesbian cyma and above this a tenia, ending in an ovolo moulding. In the accompanying cut (Fig. 57*a*) the design of the pattern

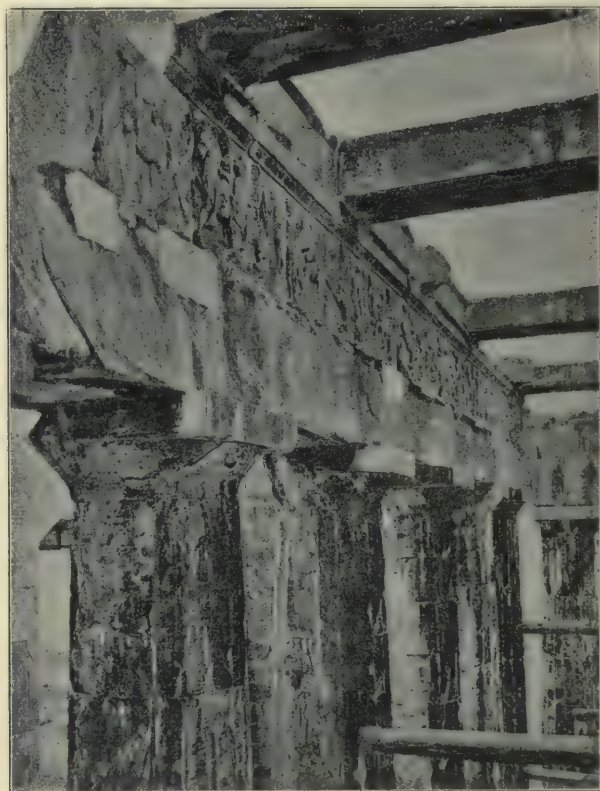


FIG. 58.—Frieze of the West Peristyle of the Parthenon, as seen to-day

cut upon the three divisions of the entire moulding is indicated, and according to Penrose is undoubted. When Dodwell saw the Parthenon the colors of the design had not entirely vanished away; at any rate he saw traces enough to lead him to think that they were blue, red, and yellow. The six inner columns at the front and rear stood on a pavement two steps higher than the stylobate and supported an entablature similar in construction to that over the external columns,



except that in place of a frieze of metopes and triglyphs the Ionic frieze of the walls of the cella was carried over on the entablature. Large beams of marble, supported by the entablature of the outer row of columns and by the cella walls, carried the marble casket ceiling of the peristyle. This ceiling was made up of large slabs of marble into which was cut a double row of richly decorated panels (*καλύμματα*, *lacunaria*). Externally these coffers have been cut so as to diminish the weight of the slab. To judge from the dimensions of the coffers probably twenty-four were cut into each

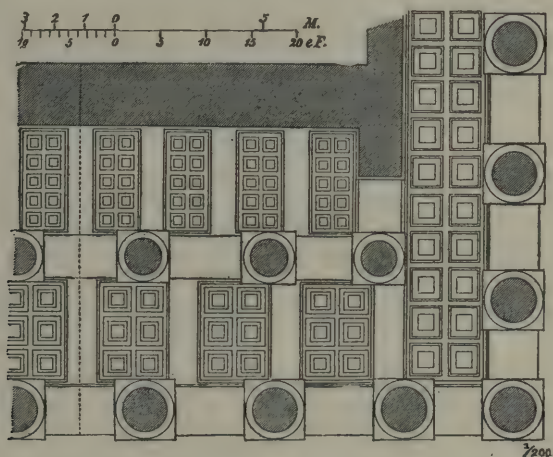


FIG. 59.—Ceiling in different parts of the Parthenon, showing the three Styles of Panels (*Lacunaria*). (Drawn by Penrose.)

slab. From the accompanying cuts we get some idea of the style and decoration of these panels. We recognize in Fig. 59 three different styles of these slabs; those showing the largest panels extend in unbroken series over the long sides of the peristyle. At the east and west ends, on the contrary, the ceiling is divided by seven beams (*δοκοί*) into six fields with six panels in each. In a similar way seven smaller beams divide the ceiling of the pronaos and of the opisthodomos into eight fields with ten smaller panels. For Figure 60, which represents a panel taken from the ceiling of the southern peristyle, the decorations are partly inferred, especially the flowering star in the centre, which is drawn after a similar ornament in a preserved panel from the ceiling of the

Propylaea, where this pattern is in gold upon a deep blue background enclosed in a frame of gold, red, and green bands.



FIG. 60.—Restored Panel of Ceiling of South Peristyle of Parthenon. (Penrose.)

But to the subject of painted decorations we must return later, after we have concluded our account of the structure itself and its uses.

Let us now turn to a study of the interior of the temple. Like Greek temples in general, the Parthenon was divided into three parts, pronaos or vestibule, opisthodomos or back chamber, and cella, or sanctuary proper. But the Parthenon had this peculiarity, that its cella was divided, as may be seen from the figure on p. 115, into two parts, the large eastern part in which the image of the divinity was placed and the smaller western part which was originally called *Parthenon*, the name by which later the whole building was designated. The east and west porticoes are exactly similar in their arrangement. An anta on each side projects from the cella wall (1.54 m., 5.03 ft.).

The antae end the walls of the cella; these, however, do not extend to the line of the colonnade and so make a closed portico at the sides, but they stop short at a distance of almost an intercolumniation of the colonnade. The purpose of this arrangement was doubtless to make this part of the structure seem as light and airy as possible, especially in view of the fact that these porticoes were quite shallow. The intercolumniations were closed by means of iron or bronze trellises,

which rested upon low marble thresholds or plinths and went clear up to the capitals of the columns. The places in which they were fastened above are still to be seen. Let us enter the vestibule of the temple. We gain access to this apartment by means of a door, also of metal lattice work, in the centre intercolumniation. The space within is filled with votive offerings, sacred utensils, chiefly made of silver, to judge from the inventories preserved in the inscriptions. From these it is evident that in the last years of the Peloponnesian war many of the objects of value in the Parthenon were borrowed by the State to defray the expenditures of the war, never to be returned to the goddess. This procedure can clearly be traced in the inscriptions pertaining to the pronaos, which end with 406/5 B.C. The number of valuable objects stored in the pronaos seems to have been greatest about 414 B.C. Among these the following may be singled out for special mention: a gold basin for sprinkling; a golden wreath; a silver bowl; 164 flat saucer-like vessels of silver; 11 beakers; 3 drinking horns; 2 lamps; and 14 other vessels of silver. From the pronaos we enter the cella through what was once a door of enormous dimensions. At the time when the Parthenon was converted into a church a half-round apse was built into it and this part of the original structure was wholly changed. But from the corresponding door of the rear chamber opening from the western portico it is judged to have been about 10 metres (32 ft. 9 in.) high; its width was 4.92 m. (16 ft. 2 in.). It had jambs, possibly of bronze, and a transom bar which served to support a metal screen or grille above the door. The flaps or wings of the door were ornamented with bosses and evil-averting symbols, such as the gorgon-head, and lion's or ram's heads. Behind this great double door was a second one of lattice work, probably of bronze, in two valves which were swung back on rollers, the channels of which in the pavement are still to be seen. The western portico had similar doors and trellises and jambs and transoms. It is to be observed that the marble slabs in the jambs of the door leading from the western portico into the cella are not original, but were placed there probably in the Byzantine period. The great cella which we enter from the pronaos was 19.19 m. (62 ft.

11 in.) wide and 29.89 m. (98 ft. 10 in.) long, inside measurements. This length is exactly 100 younger Attic feet, but the name "Hecatompedos naos," "Hundred-foot temple," is probably due not to the inside length of the cella but to the length that includes the two partition walls, which then becomes 32.84 m. and is equivalent to 100 older Attic feet. This designation of the cella was applied sometimes to the entire structure. The name Parthenon as applied to the entire temple was of later origin, as we shall see further on. In passing it may be repeated that the title "Hecatompedon" was borne officially by the old Athena temple to which, as we believe, the Parthenon was the successor. The height of the cella cannot be exactly determined. A height of about 14 metres (about 46 ft.) from the floor to the ceiling would satisfy the other dimensions. The ceiling of the eastern cella was panelled and constructed of wood. The cella was divided longitudinally into a nave and two aisles by two rows of Doric columns, having a lower diameter of 1.11 m. (3 ft. 7 in.) and 16 flutes. The nave is outlined by its pavement, which is a little lower than that of the aisles. Each colonnade started with an anta from the eastern wall and consisted of nine columns and probably an anta with two sides, while three columns with the other side of the double anta formed the enclosure of the nave at the western end. The traces of the position of these columns may still be seen outlined upon the pavement, but care should be taken not to confound them with similar traces of columns of a later period which stood nearly in the same places, and which were erected in the Byzantine period to support galleries when the Parthenon was converted into a Christian church. Professor Dörpfeld has clearly shown how the interior of the cella was arranged, drawing his inferences in part from the similarly constructed temple of Zeus at Olympia, and from certain architectural features of the building which are too technical to be discussed in this book. In passing through the great door that opens from the pronaos into the cella we enter the front part of the nave and see before us a railing which encloses the space in which stood the great gold and ivory statue of Athena. By passing through the side aisles one could see from every point of view the statue which was guarded on all sides by the



railing. The base supporting the statue, which was itself about six times life size, must have measured at least four by eight metres. The spot occupied by the base of the statue is still clearly marked by a quadrangular space paved with a dark colored lime-stone (see Fig. 47, p. 115). The hole in the pavement, about a foot deep, was intended to hold the core or prop which supported the statue of wood covered with ivory and gold.

Whether there was a skylight or opening above the statue or anywhere else in the ceiling and roof of the temple, and whether there was any other way of lighting the interior of the Parthenon except through the open door at the east end is a mooted question. Michaelis (81), Bötticher and Penrose hold that the Parthenon was hypaethral, that is to say, had an opening in the roof for letting in the light, but Dörpfeld and others are inclined to believe that the only means of lighting the interior was through the large open door, whose dimensions give an area of about fifty square metres, supplemented by the lamps that always burned before the shrine of the Greek temple.

A modified form of the hypaethral is shown in some modern models of the reconstructed Parthenon, in which there is what is called a clerestory arrangement, by which light is introduced into the interior through lateral transoms in the roof (82).

The eastern chamber of the cella was separated from the western by a solid wall which had no doors, as has been conclusively shown by Dörpfeld (83). The two doorways on the north and south sides of the cella, indicated in some of the older plans of the Parthenon, were introduced in the Byzantine period with the conversion of the temple into a church.

The columns in the interior of the cella were too slender to reach clear to the ceiling. Hence it is generally held that there must have been a second row of columns on top of the lower row to support the ceiling. But that this second row was not intended to form a gallery or second story, as Michaelis and others have supposed and as is represented in many drawings of the interior, is shown by the fact that in such a case the lower columns must have had a complete entablature, for the existence of which no evidence can be

found (84). It must be admitted, however, that no theory on this question can be maintained with any degree of certainty so long as there is so little evidence to support it.

Passing now to the western front of the temple, we enter the portico which corresponds to the pronaos and is, according to common usage in designating the different parts of a Greek temple, called the opisthodomos (posticum), which means the rear chamber. Entrance from this portico into the adjoining chamber, which is the rear part of the cella, was by means of a large door corresponding to the large door from the pronaos into the eastern chamber of the cella. This western or rear chamber was called by way of distinction the parthenon (*ὁ παρθενών*). It had, of course, the width of the cella, and a depth of 13.37 m. (43 ft. 10 in.). Its ceiling, which was doubtless panelled and which some archaeologists believe to have been of marble, was borne by four columns, probably of the Ionic order. Its walls were worked so as to present a smooth and highly polished surface. The traces of painting seen upon the walls date from the time when the temple was changed into a Christian church. To what use was this chamber dedicated? To answer this question, we need to look first at the meaning of the term parthenon which was originally applied to this apartment alone. This term means *the maiden's chamber*, and in the Greek house designates that part of the women's apartments which was most carefully shut off from the rest of the house, and in which it was customary to keep precious heirlooms and possessions. Thus the lance of Pelops is kept in the parthenon of Iphigenia (Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 826). Dörpfeld (85) suggests that the name came from the maidens (*παρθέναι*) charged with the duty of weaving the sacred peplos of Athena. But this is pure conjecture. Körte, with more reason, connects the name with the title given to Athena as the *Παρθένος*, *the maiden goddess*, although this title was not given to the cult image until a later period. "And," he goes on to say, "as in the *παρθενῶνες* of dwellings precious heirlooms and other valuable objects were wont to be stored for safety, so the most secure and least accessible chamber of this temple, which contained the treasures of the goddess, was named the apartment of the maiden, *i.e.* parthenon." When

the new temple in honor of the virgin goddess was built it seemed very proper to set apart this west or rear chamber, in distinction from the east cella in which the goddess herself dwelt, as the place where her sacred treasures should especially be guarded. In the official lists drawn up by the treasurers, which begin in 434 B.C., the name Parthenon seems to be applied to this chamber. The name seems to be transferred



FIG. 61.—Interior of the Walls and of the Doorway of the Rear Chamber of Parthenon.

to the entire building first in the time of Demosthenes (xxii. 13). Whatever be the true origin of the name, that this apartment was primarily intended as a store-room for sacred objects and votive offerings belonging to the goddess seems most probable. That it was, however, used as a place for guarding moneys, and as the office of the treasurers of Athena (86) or of the Delian confederacy, is denied by Dörpfeld and his followers. In Appendix III. this question is more fully discussed. Here let it suffice to state briefly our view on the use of the term *opisthodomos*: (1) From the fact that

the term *opisthodomos* does not occur in the treasure lists until after the completion of the Parthenon it is naturally inferred that wherever this term is found some part of this building must be intended. (2) The western portico, the *opisthodomos* in the original and restricted sense of the term, seems too limited and unprotected a locality to serve the purpose of a treasury (the view of Frazer, see App. III.) for the safe keeping and administration of the funds of the goddess and the surplus funds of the state deposited with the treasurers of Athena. Hence there is strong probability that in the treasure lists for a certain period *opisthodomos* and *parthenon* meant identically the same locality. That these terms were used indiscriminately, or rather that the term *parthenon* included at one time the locality called the *opisthodomos*, is particularly shown in the treasury documents of the fifth century, in which the rubric *opisthodomos* does not occur, all the objects and treasures, whether in the *parthenon* chamber or in the *opisthodomos* being listed under the one term *parthenon*. In the documents of the next century there arose a necessity for indicating in the inventory the particular locality in which treasures were stored, and when some of them were transferred to the *hecatompedos*, *i.e.* the cella of the Parthenon, the terms *opisthodomos* and *parthenon* were used officially to make more clear and definite the various localities in which these treasures were kept. In addition we have the testimony of an inscription (*C.I.A.* i. 184) that moneys were kept in the *parthenon* chamber, for here the statement is made that a sum of money loaned in 412 to the state by the treasurers of Athena was paid (*ἐκ τοῦ παρθενῶνος*) from the *parthenon*, *i.e.* from the treasury in the *parthenon*. (3) It seems easy and natural to transfer the name *opisthodomos* to this west chamber, which was so closely connected with the western portico, to which this name more properly belonged, especially so after the name *Parthenon* came to be applied to the entire building. In the time of Plutarch the term *opisthodomos* must have included the western cella (*i.e.* the *parthenon*), since he tells us in his life of *Demetrius Poliorcetes* (Chap. 23) that Stratocles assigned to Demetrius the *opisthodomos* of the Parthenon as a dwelling. It seems improbable that the western portico



alone would suffice for such a purpose. This rear chamber of the Parthenon we believe to be referred to in the *Plutus* (1191) of Aristophanes, where reference is made to the return of the state funds to their old home.

“Just wait a minute, for straightway we’ll establish  
Plutus in his old place, the Opisthodomos,  
Forever safely guarding for the goddess.”

From the inventories antedating the time of Euclides (404 B.C.), and also from those of later date, it is apparent that this chamber, *i.e.* the parthenon in the limited sense, was the storehouse also of a variety of sacred objects, such as weapons, articles of furniture, and ornaments dedicated as votive offerings. Among those having special value may be mentioned one large golden crown and five smaller ones, and more than 170 golden and silver vessels, especially the *φιάλαι*. In addition may be mentioned nearly 100 shields, 16 coats of mail, and 20 swords, upwards of 50 chairs and stools, and several instruments of music.

Whether the funds of the Delian confederacy administered by the Hellanotamiai were kept in the Parthenon, and a justification was found in this fact for having expended the funds of the league upon the building of this temple, is not certain. As we have already seen, one motive for the erection of the Periclean Parthenon was to provide a suitable treasury for the state, but this does not necessarily mean that the moneys contributed by the allied states of the Delian confederacy were to be guarded in the same building with those belonging to the patron goddess of the state. Several scholars hold that the treasure of the confederacy was administered by the Hellanotamiai in some locality in the lower city. The writers who mention the transference of the treasure from Delos only say that it was brought to Athens, not that it was stored in the Acropolis.

Closely connected with the question of the use of the Parthenon as a state treasury is the other question, whether it was a cult temple and the name Polias was ever applied to it. On this question critics have been divided into three classes: (1) those who hold with Dörpfeld that the Parthenon was a cult temple and was sometimes called the temple of

Athena Polias ; (2) those who hold with C. Bötticher (87) that the temple was neither a cult temple nor called by the name of Polias, but simply a treasury and a votive offering to Athena in connection with the Panathenaic festival ; (3) those who believe that it was a cult temple, but that the name Polias was never properly applied to it. Reserving a fuller discussion of this difficult question for Appendix III., we state here the conclusions at which we have arrived.

As regards the first question, whether the Parthenon was a cult temple, and by consequence its statue a cult image, a renewed examination of the evidence points to an affirmative answer. The main points of this evidence are briefly these : (1) The frequent reference to the Parthenon as the temple of Athena (88), (in one instance it being named *νεὸς κατ' ἐξοχήν*, i.e. *the temple par excellence*, in another *Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν*, i.e. *the sanctuary of Athena*) favors the view that the Parthenon was something more than a mere treasure house and memorial to the goddess. (2) The fact that the ancient writers nowhere state or even imply that the Parthenon had no rites of worship performed within it. It is stated by Zosimus (iv. 18) that in 375 A.D. Nestorius placed by the side of the Parthenos image a statue in honor of Achilles, and paid to the goddess the customary rites of worship. This rather late testimony may point to a well-established tradition. (3) The religious significance of the Panathenaic festival and the interpretation of the frieze which represents it point to rites of worship within the temple. No interpretation of the so-called Peplos scene on the slab of the frieze just above the eastern entrance (see below, p. 166) seems satisfactory unless it includes some reference to a religious ceremony, and this too whether we take this scene as symbolizing the offering of a robe to Athena Polias, or as the folding up or handing over of an official priestly robe.

Michaelis, while apparently subscribing to the theory of Bötticher mentioned above, hesitates to accept all its consequences. He says in substance that to regard the Parthenos statue as being without significance except in its relation to the Panathenaic festival is an unwarranted conclusion. But the only significance he would attach to it is that of representing the Athena Polias, who is to be regarded as the judge

who awards prizes, which is the closing act of a religious festival. (4) The mention of a golden bowl for sprinkling as one of the objects kept in the pronaos and a silver basin for lustral water in the cella, both left unweighed and therefore presumably belonging originally to the sanctuary, seems to indicate that sacred utensils for worship were kept in the Parthenon. This to be sure is only an inferential proof that rites of worship were practised there. (5) Another inference may be drawn from the fact that it was not an unusual thing for the Greeks to worship the same divinity under the form of separate images. By the side of the old temple a new and grander one might be erected and the crude image of early days might be supplemented—not superseded—by a new one of a new type, the old cult, however, remaining the same. Thus in the present case Polias and Parthenos, the venerable wooden image kept in the Erechtheum, or, according to Dörpfeld, in the old Athena temple, and the gold and ivory statue in the Parthenon, both were sacred to Athena and represented the divinity in complete form, the old type supplemented by the new, worshipped on the holy hill, the sanctuary of Athena (τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν), which, as Strabo puts it, contained two temples, the ancient temple of the Polias (ὁ τε ἀρχαῖος νεὸς τῆς Πολιάδος), *i.e.*, as we believe, the Erechtheum, and the Parthenon (καὶ ὁ Παρθενών).

That the title Polias was not applied to the Parthenon until a late period and then erroneously, is the opinion held by Frazer in his discussion on the pre-Persian temple (*Paus.* ii. p. 570) and more recently by Dr. A. S. Cooley in an article entitled, "Athena Polias on the Acropolis of Athens," published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (vol. iii. second series, p. 345). For further discussion of this question the reader is referred to Appendix III. The conclusion at which we arrive is, that the Parthenon was erected to succeed the old Hecatompedon—the old pre-Persian temple discovered by Dörpfeld—and like that was intended to serve both as a treasure-house and as a sanctuary of Athena. The literary evidence that the Parthenon was ever called the temple of Athena Polias is of so late a date as hardly to be trusted, but it may reflect a tradition. For this designation of the great temple is after all not an unlikely one in view of the

fact that Athena as the patron goddess of the state is always and everywhere *the Polias*, and so all her shrines and temples might occasionally bear this epithet. If this be true, then it becomes doubtful if any one temple ever bore this epithet by way of distinction from all the rest.

To return to the east cella, which was the main part



FIG. 62.—Lenormant Statuette of Athena Parthenos

of the temple, we find that it contained, besides the great chryselephantine statue of Athena, a number of votive offerings and treasures which are mentioned in the inventories. Among these were a gold statuette of a young maiden; a silver censer; seventeen crowns of gold; a golden bead ornament; eight silver bowls (*φιάλαι*); an incense altar in the form of a candelabrum and a silver bowl for lustral water; a wreath of gold of which it is said, "that which Nike holds"



(ὁ ἡ Νίκη ἔχει). This must be the crown of the Victory which Athena Parthenos holds upon her hand. But the object of chief interest in the east cella was, of course, the famous gold and ivory statue of Athena, fashioned by the skill of Phidias. It belongs rather to a history of Greek art than to the purpose of this treatise to give a detailed description of this statue. For such a description we may refer the reader to Professor Ernest Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 254 ff., and his *Ancient Athens*, pp. 343 ff. Let us, however, try to get some general impression of its characteristic features. In this effort we gain some assistance from copies and representations and from accounts of Pausanias, Pliny and other writers (89). Of the copies the most important are an unfinished statuette which was found in Athens, generally known as the Lenormant statuette, and a larger and better preserved figure, called from the place of its discovery in Athens, the Varvakeion statuette. The former supplements the latter by showing the reliefs on the shield and the base. The reliefs on the shield represent a battle, possibly with the Amazons, but those on the base are too rough and unfinished to make it certain that they represent, as we should expect, the birth of Pandora. A marble shield found at Athens, called the Strangford shield and preserved in the British Museum, has carved on the outside in relief a battle between the Greeks and Amazons. A comparison with the reliefs on the Lenormant statuette proves that the Strangford shield is a more complete copy of the shield of the statue made by Phidias. In the centre is the head of the Gorgon. Immediately below the Gorgon's head are the two figures which Plutarch (*Pericles*, 31) describes as portraits of Pericles and Phidias. Pericles is represented as fighting an Amazon, the hand which grasped the spear being so raised in front of his face as partly to conceal it, while Phidias is the old bald-headed man swinging with both hands a heavy double axe to smite his foe. But in the shield of the Lenormant statuette the figure of Phidias is shown raising aloft a stone, as described by Plutarch. It was for representing these portraits in the relief that Phidias, according to Plutarch's doubtful story, was charged with sacrilege. On the inside of the shield were wrought

the battles of the Giants, but whether these were painted or chiselled is not certain. Within the shield coiled the snake Erichthonios. The best idea of the head and helmet of the goddess is to be gained from a gold medallion found in 1830 near Kertch and now in the Hermitage Museum of St. Petersburg. This medallion represents in relief the



FIG. 63.—The Strangford Shield.

head of Athena Parthenos wearing a helmet with triple crest, supported by a sphinx in the middle and two winged horses at the sides. On the cheek-pieces, which are raised, griffins are represented in relief. Above the brow of the goddess is a row of animal heads, apparently of griffins and of deer alternating, projecting over the rim of the helmet. A necklace and earrings form a part of this lavish ornament. The features, like those of the Varvakeion statuette, are massive, heavy and dull.

So far as mere externals go, it is believed that this medallion presents us with a tolerably faithful copy of the

head of the original statue. The complete figure of the statue is doubtless best given by the Varvakeion copy. The goddess is represented standing upright, resting on the right foot, the left foot being slightly drawn back. Her features are full and matronly, but somewhat heavy and lifeless. On her head she wears a helmet with three crests. The central and highest crest is supported by a sphinx; each of the other crests rests upon a winged horse. The cheek-pieces



FIG. 64.—Medallion with Relief of Head of Athena Parthenos. (Hermitage.)

of the helmet are raised and are left plain. The goddess is clad in a long double tunic which partly conceals her feet. The tunic is sleeveless, the bare arms being encircled at the wrists by bracelets in the form of serpents. A scaly aegis covers the breast of the goddess; on the front of it is the Gorgon's head. In her right hand the goddess supports an image of Victory with drooping wings and turned partly towards her. The hand which holds the Victory is supported on a pillar. Whether this pillar was in the original is a matter of dispute. Gardner is probably correct in saying that it is practically certain that the pillar did not exist in



the original design of Phidias, but was added at a later time when some damage or defect in the complicated mechanism of the chryselephantine statue required an external support of the hand on which the Nike stands. As additional arguments against the view that this pillar was part of the original design Waldstein (90) calls attention to two points, first that it does not seem probable that in a statue which was decorated with reliefs or paintings wherever there was a bare space (even the soles of the sandals had on their edges reliefs of a battle between Greeks and Centaurs), a pillar, which in the original must have been at least 12 or 15 ft. high, should have been left wholly bare and unadorned; and secondly, that the pillar in question is of a late Roman type and not Greek. To complete the description of the Varvakeion statuette, we must mention the shield which is set upright on its edge at her left side, with her left hand resting upon it, and has carved on its outer side the Gorgon's head in the middle of the shield. Between the shield and the goddess is coiled the serpent with head erect and protruding from the rim of the shield. The statue retains numerous traces of color, which doubtless points to the application of color in the original. The Varvakeion statuette is commonly regarded as a late Roman copy, and differs from the description of the ancient writers in lacking the spear, the griffins on the helmet, the reliefs on the shield and on the sandals, and also that on the pedestal which represented the birth of Pandora in the presence of the gods. The statue of the Parthenos is known to have been in existence as late as 430 A.D. (see p. 306 below), but not long after this date, when the Parthenon was converted into a Christian church, the image was removed and disappeared.

Now that the original is lost, no copy can give us an adequate idea of the beauty and splendor of the original. Its height, including the pedestal, was 26 cubits, the gold used in constructing the statue and its attributes could, we are told, all be removed, and weighed from 40 to 50 talents according to various ancient authorities. The pupils of the eyes were probably of precious stones. "It was evidently the wish of the artist," says Professor Gardner, "in giving his great statue this richness of decoration, not merely to





PLATE VI.      VARVAKEION STATUETTE OF ATHENA PARTHENOS.      Facing p. 146.



produce an effect suitable to the size and material of his subject, but also to associate the goddess in this her most perfect representation with all the greatest events, human and divine, in which she had taken part, and especially to ascribe to her all the victories of Athens over barbarian foes, all her magnificent attainments in the arts of peace; to summarize, in fact, in the accessories of the statue all on which Athens, in the fifth century, most prided herself, just as the statue itself embodied the patron goddess who was the life and inspiration of the city." The dedication of the Parthenon, as the abode of Athena, took place in 438, when this statue, one of the most magnificent offerings ever dedicated to a pagan divinity, was consecrated at the great Panathenaic festival. The structure, however, was not entirely completed. From the famous inscription (*C.I.A.* i. 32), dated 435 B.C., which directs that the moneys of Athena should be stored on the right-hand side, and those of the other gods on the left-hand side of the opisthodomos, it appears that the Parthenon was not used for a treasury until about three years later. From an inscription (91) dated in 433/2 which records the fact that the superintendents of the work were still in office, it appears that all the decorative details were not finished until some five years after the dedication of the temple.

The abundance of the sculptural decorations, some of which were apparently still unfinished in 438, is at once recognized when we are confronted with the fact that upon this temple there were no less than forty-four statues to ornament the gables, ninety-two sculptured metopes, and a frieze around the cella 523 feet (159.42 m.) in length, and more than three feet in width, covered with sculpture in relief.

Let us briefly describe in the order named above each of these three forms of sculptural decorations. First the pediment groups. From Pausanias (i. 24, 5) we know that the subject of the composition in the east pediment had relation to the birth of Athena, who, according to the legend, sprang forth from the brain of Zeus, fully armed. When Carrey drew the Parthenon sculptures in 1674 the central group of this pediment had already disappeared, having been destroyed probably in the changes required to convert the Parthenon into a church. We have therefore

no direct information in regard to the treatment of this subject. But the probability is great that the restoration of this group is to be made in harmony with a relief on a well-head, now at Madrid, which represents Zeus seated on a throne, grasping the thunderbolt in his right hand and looking towards Athena, who stands armed before him and is about to be crowned by a Victory holding a wreath in her hand. Behind the throne of Zeus is Hephaestus, who has cleft the skull of Zeus with his axe, and starts back in astonishment. On the right of the composition are the three Fates. While no direct connection with this relief can be inferred from the figures of the Parthenon pediment still extant, some such composition as this seems more in harmony with the dignity of Athena as goddess



FIG. 65.—Birth of Athena. On Well-head at Madrid.

of the temple than the scheme which occurs on vases and Etruscan mirrors, in which Athena is portrayed as a tiny figure or doll hovering over the head of Zeus. This conclusion is confirmed by the recent examination of the wall and floor of the gable by Bruno Sauer (92), who, from the appearance of the surface of the marble, from dowel-holes and sockets for receiving or supporting pieces of statuary, and from the remains of clamps and bars and various traces of supports, has shown that the centre of the eastern gable was occupied by two large figures of equal importance.

Wide differences of opinion prevail with regard to the interpretation of the extant pedimental figures, to discuss which is beyond our province. The figures in the angles are the only ones which appear to be well ascertained. On the left the sun-god Helios rises from the ocean driving his car, and on the right the moon-goddess Selene guiding



her steeds and car sets beneath the horizon. These two figures may be interpreted as marking the boundaries, either of Olympus or of the universe. Some have suggested that they indicate the period of the day, and that Helios indicates the hour at which the birth took place, which, according to Attic tradition, was sunrise.

An insight into the spirit of this sculptural composition comes to us from a literary source in Pindar's *Olympian Ode* (vii. 37) that is as poetic as it is true. And in the Homeric hymn to Athena we have descriptions of the event here portrayed in sculpture, which may help to interpret its meaning. "What time by Hephaestus' handicraft beneath the bronze-wrought axe from the crown of her father's head Athena leapt to light, and cried aloud with an exceeding cry; and Heaven trembled at her coming, and Earth, the Mother" . . . "Her did Zeus the counsellor himself beget from his holy head, all armed for war in shining golden mail, while in awe did the other Gods behold it. Quickly did the goddess leap from the immortal head, and stood before Zeus, shaking her sharp spear, and high Olympus trembled in dread beneath the strength of the grey-eyed Maiden, while Earth rang terribly around, and the sea was boiling with dark waves, and suddenly brake forth the foam. Yea, and the glorious son of Hyperion checked for long his swift steeds, till the maiden took from her immortal shoulders her divine armor, even Pallas Athena; and Zeus the counsellor rejoiced."

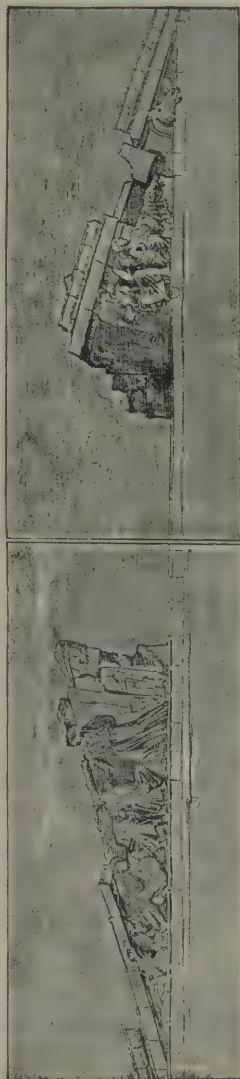


FIG. 66.—East Pediment. (Carrey's Drawing.)

In accord with this description we cannot err in supposing that the scene in the centre must be the bond of attraction and union that unites all the figures into one harmonious composition. The figures towards the ends of the pediment are agitated by the shout of the new-born goddess and the clang of her armor, and naturally turn towards the centre to behold the wonderful event. The commotion raised among the spectators of the scene would naturally diminish from the centre towards the ends of the composition.



FIG. 67.—"Theseus."

An attempt to identify each one of the extant figures of the pediment now preserved in the British Museum, and included in the collection known as the Elgin Marbles, would be futile. As Frazer observes, "The field of conjecture is boundless, and archaeologists have accordingly expatiated in it." Michaelis (*Der Parthenon*, p. 165) gives a table of the various interpretations held, to which those of the latest critics are to be added.

As regards the general principles of interpretation the various theories may be divided into two classes. We may either hold that the space bounded by Helios and Selene

represents Olympus, and that all the figures contained within this space are definite mythological personages who were present at the birth, or, as appears to us more probable, we may assume that all the divinities present were comprised in the central part of the pediment, and that the figures towards the angles belong to the world outside of Olympus, to whom the news is brought. These figures may be impersonations of nature. Thus, according to Brunn and Waldstein the magnificent reclining male figure (*D*), popularly known as "Theseus," who faces the rising sun, represents Mount Olympus, which is here to be thought of as the home of the gods.



FIG. 68.—"The Fates.

In harmony with the same theory the two seated figures which come next are interpreted as the Horae who sat at the gates of Olympus as "doorkeepers to open and to close the solid cloud." Whether we call the next figure, which is apparently hastening towards the Horae, Iris or Hebe or Eileithyia, the goddess who presides at birth, we see in it a representation of some one who is hastening from Olympus to the outside world with a message of the divine birth. In the corresponding space at the other angle the three beautiful figures are by some supposed to be the Fates (unless we assign to these a place on the left side of the pediment, closer to the centre of the composition as is the case in the Madrid relief) by others Hestia and the Sea (Thalassa) reclining in the bosom of the Earth (Gaia), or

personifications of the Clouds, or the daughters of Cecrops, who were mythic impersonations of the Dew. It belongs to the domain of sculpture rather than to our subject to characterize the unrivalled beauty and excellence of these statues. After all these centuries of exposure to weather and to the destroying hand of man, they still bear witness, mutilated and scarred though they are, to the devotion and skill which produced this wonderful perfection of outline and inimitable grace in sculpture, though it was destined to be placed far away from the possibility of close scrutiny and minute inspection at the height of more than forty feet above the ground. As the devout painters of the renaissance portrayed with loving care and utmost fidelity the features of saints and prophets in the obscure corners of dimly lighted chapels, so did the sculptors of the Parthenon chisel with infinite pains and true devotion the statues of their heroes and divinities, whose matchless beauty and faultless finish were seen only by the sun-god who bathed them in the rosy and purple hues that streamed upon them every morning over the summits of Hymettus and Pentelicus.

The west pediment has for its subject the contest between Athena and Poseidon for possession of Attica, or the rival claims of the *tokens* (*σημεῖα*) of these divinities respectively for pre-eminence. This contest, according to tradition, took place on the Acropolis itself. Poseidon striking the ground with his trident produced a salt spring, or, according to another version, a horse, while Athena manifested her power by causing an olive tree to spring forth from the soil. The victory was awarded to Athena, Cecrops acting as judge, in the presence of a tribunal of the gods or of local heroes. When Carrey (93) made his drawings (1674) the group of this pediment was fairly well preserved. Besides the sketch of Carrey there are Athenian coins and a vase found at Kertch, now in St. Petersburg, which treat this composition and which may aid us in the restoration of this pediment. Unfortunately, even in the time of Carrey most of the hands and the attributes they contained were broken off, and we are thus deprived of an important source of information touching the interpretation of the statues (94). In Carrey's drawing twenty-two figures are shown. The



destruction of the middle of the pediment was the work of the Venetian Morosini (1688), who tried to lower the horses of the chariot of Athena and the statue of Poseidon, which he intended to take with him on his return to Venice. But the tackle he used broke, and this matchless group fell and was shattered into pieces (see p. 322 below). The chariot of Athena is known from Carrey's drawing, but the horses of Poseidon had disappeared before that time. The heads, however, have been found on the Acropolis (95).

Between the time of Morosini and the middle of the eighteenth century, when Dalton drew the west pediment, the work of destruction had gone much further, so that less of the sculptures of the west pediment has been preserved than of the eastern. Of the entire number of figures, originally not less than twenty, not counting the horses and chariots, only four have been preserved with any degree of completeness, three of which (Michaelis, Pl. 7, 8, *B*, *C* and *W*) are still *in situ*, the first two in the left, the last in the right angle of the pediment. The remarkably beautiful figure marked *A* and usually regarded as a river-god, the Cephissus, which occupied the extreme left angle of the gable, is in the British Museum.

Besides this statue there remain numerous fragments and broken torsos, the larger part of which are kept in the British Museum, the remainder in the Museum on the Acropolis. In this connection mention should

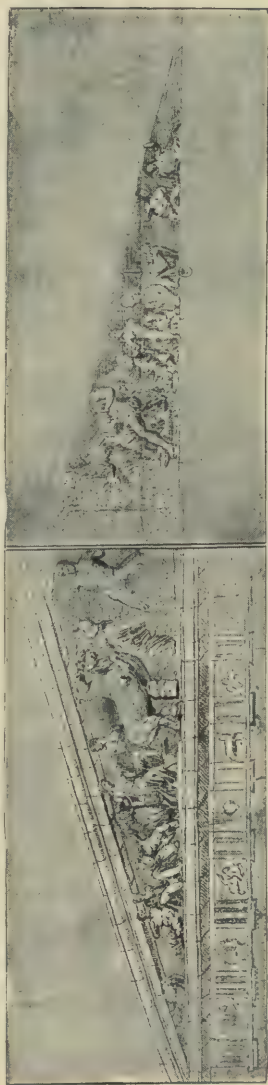


FIG. 69.—The West Pediment. (From Carrey's Drawing.)

be made of the fact that no heads have been preserved among the figures of either of the pediments with two exceptions. First, of course, is the magnificent "Olympus" or "Theseus" statue of the east pediment, and secondly, the so-called De Laborde head (cf. Gardner's *Ancient Athens*,

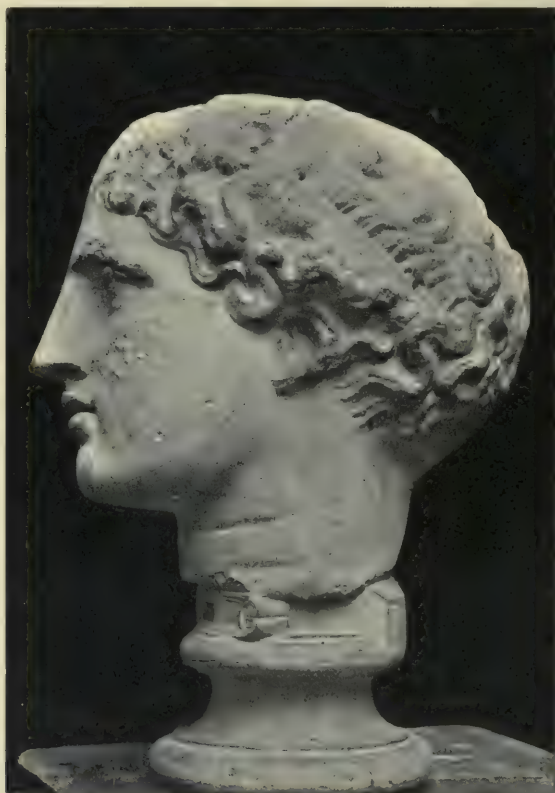


FIG. 70.—De Laborde Head.

p. 320) which in its style is clearly related to the statues of the pediments. It shows the same simplicity and nobility of form that characterize the pediment sculptures, but to which figure of the western pediment it belonged it is impossible to say. To assign it to the Nike who drives the car of Athena has been suggested, but the expression of the face seems too sedate and matronly to belong to a Victory.

It has been intimated above that there is some difference of opinion as regards the interpretation of the whole composition of this pediment. The statement of Pausanias that this pediment represented the strife between Poseidon and Athena for the land seems clear and direct. But the question arises at what stage is this contest here presented; is it completed or still in progress? While it is generally admitted that the olive and the salt spring were the tokens by which the possession of the land was to be determined, and that these tokens were shown in the pediment, it is a matter of dispute whether what was represented in the pediment was the creating of the tokens themselves, the actual contest, or the moment



FIG. 71.—Vase Painting, representing Contest of Athena and Poseidon.

succeeding the contest, the tokens having been produced and the contest decided. Our interpretation of the whole scene must necessarily be controlled by our choice of these two rival opinions (96). Without arguing the question, which would take us too far out of our way, the weight of probability seems to be in favor of the view that the scene before us is one of conflict in progress. The situation is well stated by Furtwängler, who says (*Masterpieces*, p. 457): "On the rock of the Citadel the two gods have met together, both have taken possession, each by a token of power,—Athena by the Olive, Poseidon by the Salt Spring, which was indicated on the right, extending as far as his chariot, under which Carrey saw a dolphin as a symbol of the salt water. The arrival of the two deities on the same spot, their collision with each



other, both making the same claims—this and nothing else was represented in the clearest and most striking wise. Like two balls that collide, the two recoil from each other, while the intersection of their legs makes it clear that they are laying claim to the same spot. The movement is essentially the same in the two, but Poseidon, according to his nature, is wilder, more violent in bearing, Athena more dignified." This interpretation is favored especially by an analogous representation found on a vase from Kertch now in the Hermitage Museum of St. Petersburg. The analogy does not hold in all points, but is especially strong in the figure of the Athena and in the grouping of the two rival divinities on either side of the olive tree. As regards the designation of the subordinate figures on either side of the central group two general theories are held: they are either a series of minor divinities or heroes, or else a series of local personifications which serve to indicate the place where the event took place. But, as Gardner remarks, "these two views are not mutually exclusive; it is possible for a deity or a hero to represent his chosen haunt or place of worship."

An enumeration of the statues that adorned the pediments of the Parthenon and an attempt at a reconstruction of these wonderful compositions in sculpture, would bear somewhat the same relation to the beauty and grace of the originals as do the words of the vocabulary to an Ode of Pindar or of Sophocles. What these compositions must have been in their original splendor and grace can still be inferred from the torsos and fragments found in the Museums of Athens and London, and from the scanty remains on the Parthenon. The so-called "Theseus" or "Olympus" and the three draped female figures from the east pediment, the so-called "Cephissus" from the end of the west pediment, and the head of the horse of the chariot of Selene show a technical mastery in the rendering of the surface, together with a nobility of conception and a grace of form that have never been equalled in the history of art. And this same artistic sense that is shown in the beauty of the individual statues shows itself also in the grace and harmony of the composition as a whole.

The arrangement of the composition departs from the strict and somewhat hard symmetry of the earlier pediments, such



as those of Aegina and Olympia. While there are manifest correspondences between the figures on either side of the pediment, these figures themselves break up into groups which vary the monotony, while the movement in each pediment is towards the centre of the composition where lies the climax. This climacteric movement goes on in a succession of undulations, now rising, now falling, but ever growing higher and more intense. All the difficulties inherent in pedimental composition are handled with extraordinary skill, as Gardner remarks. The alternation of kneeling and standing figures in the west pediment is so appropriate that its necessity is not observed, while the difference of size between the figures in the middle and those at the ends is so clearly dealt with that it partly adds to the effect, partly escapes notice. In the east pediment the well-known convention of Greek relief called *isocephaly*, by which the heads of seated figures are represented as about on a level with those of the standing figures next to them, was applied to make the change almost imperceptible from standing to seated figures and to give variety to the composition. When we add to all this beauty of form and grace of outline and harmony of arrangement, the decoration of varied and harmonious coloring, we can in some measure, though not by any means adequately, bring before our imagination the splendid lustre of all those gods and heroes, bathed in the brilliant light of an Athenian sky.

The next series of decorative sculpture to be discussed are the metopes. Set in between the triglyphs of the later Doric frieze, the metopes were originally ninety-two in number, thirty-two on each of the long sides and fourteen at each end. Many of these are now lost, having been utterly destroyed in the great explosion of 1687. Those on the south side were fortunately drawn by Carrey. Forty-one still remain on the temple, but are for the most part so much shattered and decayed that it is difficult to make them out. Fifteen of the original metopes are in the British Museum, and one is in the Louvre. These sixteen are all from the south side of the temple and portray the contest between the Centaurs and Lapiths at the marriage feast of Peirithoös. On the same side but in the middle there were other metopes which had different subjects, not surely interpreted. Similarly on the

north side a variety of scenes seems to have been represented, so far as one can judge from the fragments extant and from the drawings. These metopes at the ends are believed to refer to the sack of Troy, while those in the middle may have contained scenes from the centauromachy, if we can rely on drawings that show centaurs and that are supposed to pertain to the north side of the temple. There is more certainty as regards the metopes on the western and on the



FIG. 72.—Southwest Corner of the Entablature of Parthenon, showing a Metope.

eastern fronts, the former representing the battle of the Greeks and the Amazons, the latter the contest of the Gods and the Giants. Gardner calls attention to the fact that in the distribution of the subjects on the different sides of the temple there is evidence of artistic invention. The scenes of the centauromachy, which are full of vigor and show great originality of composition and bold contrasts of the human-equine forms, are placed not on the fronts below the pediments, where they would have diverted the eye from the more important groups above them, but on the south side, which was the most conspicuous from below and was probably to be seen from a distance and as a whole by itself. This same artistic feeling,

Gardner thinks, led the architect to place these bold and vigorous designs at the ends of the south side, separated by a set of more sedate and restful compositions in the middle, by which means the centaur metopes gained their full effect in contrast with the massive architectural frame in which they were set; and this contrast would be strongest at the ends, where the structural features of the building are most conspicuous.

The sculpture of the metopes is in the highest relief attainable in marble, large portions of some of the figures



FIG. 73. —Metope, No. 310.

being cut in the round so as to stand out quite free from the background. All critics have remarked upon the remarkable inequality of style and execution in the sculptures of these metopes. This had led some to believe that they were not even in design the work of a single artist. No one believes that they were executed by one sculptor. The artists seem to have been given a free hand and to have belonged to a school which paid much attention to athletic subjects, as is shown by the care and delight taken in rendering the details of the male torso and by the want of skill shown in the treatment of the female figure, and in most instances of the drapery. As a specimen of the best of these sculptures we



re-produce metope No. 310. The Lapith and the Centaur advance from opposite sides, the Lapith trying to seize his enemy by the throat, who rears up to meet him. The right arm of the Lapith is drawn back as if about to strike, while a mantle fastened on his right shoulder falls over the left arm and flies back behind. From the shoulders of the Centaur hangs a small cloak; its flying folds show the violence of the action. The arrangement of the group, with its finely balanced action and the masterly modelling, makes this one of the finest of all the metopes.

The Ionic frieze of the Parthenon next claims our attention. It is a continuous band of sculpture in low relief which extended round the outer wall of the cella, with its two smaller halls in front and back. As in the case of all peripteral temples, the temple proper, *i.e.* the naos or cella, was surrounded by a colonnade which supported the roof and afforded shady walks varying in width from about nine to eleven feet. The plain wall of the cella which was decorated with the frieze was bounded above by a slightly projecting band or moulding, under which at the east and west ends were the small blocks called *regulae*, from which *guttae* depended, such as are usually found in connection with the triglyph frieze of the Doric order. But the fact that these are wanting on the north and south sides, a point to which, so far as we know, Dörpfeld first called attention, and in which the drawings of Michaelis need to be corrected, suggests the enquiry whether the architects changed their plan during the process of construction from a Doric to an Ionic frieze. The frieze is 11.9 m. (39 ft.) above the marble pavement of the colonnade and is itself surmounted by a rich moulding, consisting of a Doric cymatium adorned with hanging leaves of a complex pattern, and of a Lesbian cymatium decorated with heart-shaped leaves and darts (cf. Fig. 17, Pl. 2, Michaelis). The length of the frieze was 159.42 m. (523 ft.), of which 21.18 m. (69 ft. 6 in.) covered each of the walls of the front and back, while 58.53 m. (191 ft. 11 in.) decorated each longer side of the temple. The slabs of the frieze are about a metre (3 ft.  $3\frac{9}{16}$  in.) high. The height of the relief sculpture at the top is about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  centimetres ( $2\frac{1}{4}$  in.), while at the bottom it is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches.



The whole surface of the relief is thus slightly tilted over towards the spectator. The object of this will be discussed below. The frieze suffered greatly in the explosion of 1687, particularly about the middle of the two long sides. In the time of Carrey it was still nearly complete, but his drawings, unfortunately, do not include all that is lost. Stuart and Pars drew a considerable part of the frieze, but not much of what has since been entirely lost (97). About 410 feet of the frieze have survived, of which, however, only about 300 feet



FIG. 74.—Portion of the West Frieze, *in situ*.

are well enough preserved to admit of minute study. Of the 16 original slabs of the west frieze, 13 are still *in situ*, the other two and a fragment of the third being in the British Museum. The Greek government has recently made it possible by the construction of a stairway and platform to view this part of the frieze close at hand. Much the largest part of the frieze (about 240 feet) is in the British Museum, where under a glass covering these precious relics of this masterful piece of sculpture are carefully guarded against further decay.

The subject represented on this frieze is generally held to be the procession on the occasion of the great Panathenaic

festival. It may aid us to understand the details of the frieze if we bring to mind the facts concerning this festival that have been handed down to us by ancient authors. The ancient festival of the Panathenaia takes its origin from Erichthonios, the foster-son of Athena to whom he dedicated the carved wooden image of Athena Polias. The festival is said to have been renewed by Theseus when he united all the Attic demes into one community, and was at first celebrated once a year in connection with the birthday of Athena, the 28th day of the Attic month Hecatombaion (about the 12th of August). The festival was celebrated by a solemn sacrifice, equestrian and gymnastic contests, the Pyrrhic dance, and especially by the offering of a new robe, the peplos, to the goddess. The peplos of Athena was a cloak, saffron and dark purple in color, with an embroidered border representing scenes from the battle of the gods and the giants. Pisistratus gave additional splendor and solemnity to this festival once every four years and created the distinction between the greater and the lesser Panathenaia. It is said that Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus, instituted a literary contest at this festival in which rival rhapsodists recited the Homeric poems. The festival was made still more brilliant by Pericles, who introduced a musical contest.

The climax of the festival was the great procession, which started at sunrise on the last day, the birthday of Athena, from the outer Ceramicus to convey the peplos to the temple of the goddess on the Acropolis. During its passage through the city the procession displayed the peplos on the mast and yard of a ship, which was drawn on rollers. At the steep ascent to the Propylaea, doubtless, the ship was left behind, and the peplos was taken from the ship and carried to the temple by chosen maidens. In this solemn ceremony the whole body of Athenian citizens was represented. Among those who are particularly mentioned in the inscriptions as taking part in the procession were the noble Athenian maidens, the so-called Kanephoroi, who bore baskets (*kanea*) with sacrificial implements and offerings; the Diphoroi, bearers of stools (*diphroi*); the alien Skaphephoroi, whose function it was to carry trays (*skaphae*) containing cakes and other offerings; the venerable Athenian citizens who

from their carrying olive branches were called *Thallophoroi*. The maidens who prepared the peplos (the *Ergastinai* and the *Arrephoroi*) also took part in the procession (98). Mention is made also of envoys sent to represent Athenian colonies, who were in charge of the victims contributed to the sacrifice. Chariots and escort of Athenian cavalry and hoplites formed a brilliant part of the spectacle. Marshals and heralds ordered the procession, and priests conducted the sacrifices. In the composition of the frieze we find a general correspondence to the facts here enumerated. To be sure, no



FIG. 75.—Slab of West Frieze of Parthenon.

representation is found of all the features which are known to have formed part of the original ceremony; as, for example, the ship on which the peplos was borne is not found on the frieze; but, as others have observed, Phidias would naturally select for his composition such details from the actual procession as were most suitable for representation in sculpture in low relief, to be seen at a considerable height above the ground, and in the somewhat dim light of the peristyle. Instead of representing a realistic reproduction of the pageant, his aim was to give his own artistic conception of it inspired by national pride and religious enthusiasm. The eye not only but the imagination also is appealed to. In this wonderful



composition more than 350 human figures are modelled, and no two figures are alike, and of about 125 figures of horses every one is different from the other. In perhaps no other point is seen displayed the fine artistic sense of the designer of the sculptures of the Parthenon to so much advantage as in the arrangement of this composition. A sculptor of less artistic skill would, as Michaelis observes, have made the procession wind round the temple without beginning or end, like the bands of figures on the Greek vases of the old style. "But Phidias has with marvellous skill contrived to overcome the difficulties of perspective, and to give his procession a starting point and conclusion, and all the figures are carried along by the same movement."

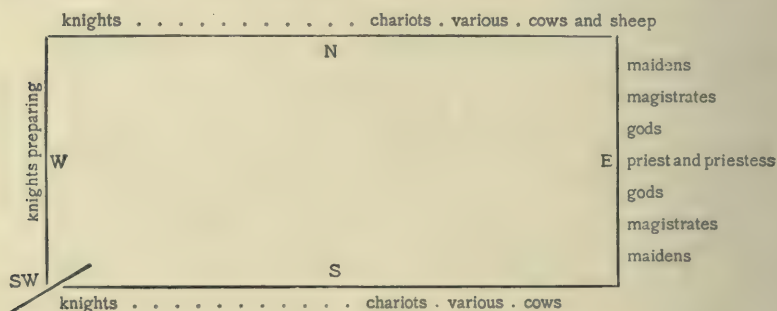


FIG. 76.

From the accompanying diagram (Fig. 76), the order of the procession can be seen at a glance. The procession starts at the southwest angle, one file marching to the right, the other to the left, until they meet in the middle of the east front, on either side of a group of divinities. The centre of the east gable was the central point at which the tie was to be placed that should fasten together the two converging bands. To avoid the impression of two distinct processions, Phidias had no corresponding starting point at the centre of the west side, but all the figures in the west frieze have a northerly direction as of one procession. Only once, near the south corner, one horse is portrayed as turned in the opposite direction, a hint at the movement in the south frieze which is towards the right. We notice also the skill shown in the placing of single upright figures at the corners,



where they give an impression of repose and stability. The distribution of the scenes also shows remarkable sense of fitness and harmony. At the two ends of the temple we see groups separated by single figures and somewhat loosely joined, but on the long sides a repetition of groups would have wearied the eye, and accordingly we find here extended masses and long rows of figures like a flowing and uninterrupted stream of life.



FIG. 77.—East Frieze of Parthenon. Group of Divinities.

Without going into a detailed description of the frieze, which more properly belongs to a history of Greek sculpture, a few words concerning the interpretation of the central scene, on the east front may not be out of place. This scene has been the subject of much controversy, into whose details it would be impossible to enter. It is found portrayed on slabs numbered IV, V, VI, in Michaelis, *der Parthenon*, Pl. 14, of which the two former are to be found in the British Museum, the last in the museum on the Acropolis. The scene represents two groups of divinities, seven in each group (counting in Iris (No. 28) and Eros (No. 42) on each side), who, turned away from the central group that separates them, are evidently waiting and leisurely talking

and looking to see what is approaching. The central group consists of five figures, who seem to be standing between the two groups of deities, but who, as A. S. Murray (99) has pointed out, are not to be regarded as being in one line with the gods but as in front of them. Their action is plainly of no interest to the divinities on either side. On the left two maidens have arrived, carrying on their heads cushioned stools, which a lady of commanding presence and in full drapery is about to receive from them. The next two figures represent a man in a long-sleeved tunic, who is occupied either in handing over a garment or robe to a boy who stands before him or in receiving it from him. That this action has to do with the peplos, the robe borne on the ship in the procession and woven for Athena, can hardly be doubted. But whether the



FIG. 78.—East Frieze of Parthenon. Priest, Priestess, the Peplos Scene, Divinities.

action is to be interpreted as indicating the folding up of the old cloak by the priest which is then given to the boy to carry off, or of receiving the new cloak which is handed over to the priest by the boy, cannot be determined with any certainty. In either case it represents some act of preparation, and should not be regarded as the culminating act of the festival.

It remains to say a few words about the technique of this masterpiece of sculpture. We have already spoken of the remarkably low relief in which the frieze is executed. That this was chosen deliberately to take advantage of every variation of light and shade and to produce the best possible effect in the position it occupied is apparent to one who studies the situation. Upon this point Professor Ernest Gardner (*Ancient Athens*, p. 337) speaks with much insight. To quote his words: "The question of lighting is more complicated and evidently engaged the sculptor's careful attention. The light reflected from the white marble pavement below would be

strong enough ; and the low relief was calculated to make the best of it. The relief is higher at the top than at the bottom—about two and one-fourth inches on an average, as compared with one and a half inches, and so the surface has a slight outward slope, and the lower outlines of the projecting masses are in every case deeper cut and steeper than the upper outlines, because they can depend on no shadows to assist their effect. One can easily realize the advantage of this process in many parts of the frieze where the upper outlines, now that they are lighted from above, are indistinct, while the lower ones are often too heavy.”

Gardner then goes on to say that by the skilful use of this low relief the sculptor represents without difficulty a four-horse chariot and knights riding in some places as many as seven abreast, and that this effect is not mainly produced by the drawing such as could be used on a flat surface, but by so arranging the series of figures that they are seen not from a position exactly perpendicular to the line of advance, but at a slight angle to the perpendicular, so that each figure slopes slightly in towards the background from front to back, and thus there is produced an illusion of depth beyond what is possible within the narrow limits of the relief.

The exquisitely fine finish of this sculpture can only be appreciated in seeing the actual marbles. The minutest detail is not neglected. Flaxman points out how in the horses the hardness and decision of the bony parts can be distinguished from the elasticity of tendon and the softness of the flesh. As in the case of the pediments, the evidence of unity of conception and composition is patent to all. But in the execution there is more or less inequality in point of merit, though still a high general average of proficiency. We conclude our notice of the frieze with an extract from Dodwell, the English traveller, whose characterization of the frieze adds features not before mentioned.

“Some of the figures are completely clothed from head to foot ; others have naked feet ; and others have boots of various kinds. Some have hats and helmets, and others are uncovered ; some are mounted on horseback and others are on foot. The whole procession appears as if it had been summoned to meet in the dead of the night, and every



person had to put on those parts of his dress which happened to present themselves at the moment. But it is from this seeming confusion, this variety of attitudes, of dress and preparation, of precipitancy and care, of busy movement and more relaxed effort, that the composition derives so much of its effect. An animated reality is thus diffused throughout the subject, adding interest to every figure and epic grandeur to the whole."

Gloriously beautiful as the Parthenon must have been with all this wealth of sculptural ornamentation, there was still one more means of decoration which added to its brilliancy and splendor, and that is polychromy (100). We have before this referred incidentally to the tinting and gilding of mouldings and various ornamental features of the Parthenon, but this subject merits a little closer attention. Within the last two decades fresh evidence has come to us on this question from the excavations at Olympia and on the Acropolis at Athens, and from the discoveries at Delphi. This evidence points clearly to an extensive application of color to architecture and to sculpture. The museum on the Acropolis contains a large number of architectural fragments from buildings on the Acropolis that retain distinct traces of the original color, besides the series of female statues showing colored decoration, which have been described in the preceding chapter. Faint traces of color may still be seen on the inner side of the entablature of the west portico of the Parthenon. The most important point still in doubt is the application of color or tinting to the plain marble surfaces, such as those of the cornice, of the architrave, and of the columns. The question is whether the golden brownish tint now to be seen on these surfaces is the patina of the Pentelic marble, wholly due to the oxidation of the iron in the marble, or rather the discoloration of the original yellowish tint which was applied in a sizing upon the marble surface. Penrose and others believe that the plain marble surfaces were originally painted in flat color or tinted to tone down the glare of the new marble. This opinion is held by some American scholars who have recently experimented on the patina in various ways. By writing on it with a lead pencil, the surface is made to



appear calendered ; by sponging the face of the marble the artificial origin of the stain became manifest ; and by attempting a qualitative chemical analysis, the substance was shown to be probably a gypsum (101). To this view Dörpfeld (102) and Borrmann do not subscribe, holding that the custom of the ancient Greeks was to leave plain surfaces of marble buildings untinted in distinction from those built of poros, and also in contrast with other and more ornamental parts of the architecture which, even where their material was marble, were treated with color. All, however, are agreed that the architectural members that project from the plain surfaces, and those that are in profile, such as mouldings, cornices, triglyphs, mutules, soffits, and the capitals of antae, are as a rule colored, and so also those flat surfaces, like the tympana of the gables, that form the background of sculpture.

As regards the painted decorations of the Parthenon, we may particularize to some extent, though all the details are not certain, accepting in the main the results arrived at by Penrose and by Fenger. According to their view the taeniae and regulae were decorated with a painted fret and honeysuckle pattern. The color applied to these parts has disappeared (Fenger makes it red and blue with gilt ornament), but the marble surface under the ornament has been better preserved by the pigment than the adjacent parts not painted, and in some places the original outlines remain. The triglyphs were blue, the background of the metopes, filled with relief sculpture, may have been red (Fenger leaves them white), the relief sculpture itself being colored in part. Whether the moulding above the triglyphon was decorated is a matter of analogy and conjecture. The edges and soffits of the mutules were red. No trace of color was found on the guttae ; they were probably red. The soffit of the cornice between the mutules at the angles was adorned with figures of honeysuckles connected by scrolls. The hawk-beak moulding of the cornice was decorated with a pattern of very unusual occurrence in Greek Doric, bearing some resemblance to an Egyptian ornament. The soffit of the cornice was blue, but the scotia above it was red. The Doric cymatium had painted upon it a row of honeysuckles

surrounded by an oval-shaped decoration. To these ornaments correspond the rows of colored anthemion on the flanks which conceal the lower edges of the tiles. The mouldings along the cella wall immediately above the frieze show ornamental patterns, but the coloring is a matter of conjecture. According to Fenger the background of the tympanum and of the Ionic frieze was painted, in the case of the former a deep blue or possibly a red, in the case of the latter a blue. This part of the color scheme is, however, not based upon clear evidence. The annulets of the Doric capitals were colored red and blue. That the capital of the Doric antae required a painted decoration is generally believed, and Penrose speaks of considerable traces of color preserved on the capital of one of the antae. The separation or demarcation of the colors was effected by means of white or gilded fillets. Especially rich also was the decoration of the panels or coffers of the ceiling of the peristyles. The scheme of this decoration is especially clear in some of the coffers that have been preserved of the ceiling of the Propylaea. The soffits of these are ornamented with stars and flowers in gold on a blue ground. A narrow band of bright green borders the soffits. In the panels of the Parthenon the pearl-bead moulding which conceals the joints was repeated, and enclosed a broader band which was adorned with a meander, and the ground of the panel was decorated with a rich palmetto ornament enclosing a star. Says M. Magne (*Le Parthénon*, p. 35): "Thus the architect knew how to make apparent the greatness of his work, by placing in contrast with the simple lines of column and architrave the delicacy and elegance of sculptured frieze enhanced by painted decoration and by the richness of a ceiling, forming, as it were, a brilliant tapestry adorned with flowers and stars." As the Greeks did not divorce color from architecture, so also in the kindred art of sculpture the application of color was looked upon as an added element of beauty. In architectural friezes the whole relief was regarded as a band of color contrasting with the broader surfaces below and above. So the pediment sculptures stood out in their framework as an animated group of living persons. Just how far color was applied to the broad masses of the flesh

and drapery is not wholly clear. Fenger, in his work on Doric Polychromy, may have gone too far in representing the figures in the frieze and in the metopes, if not also in the pediments, completely decked out with color. That, however, the borders and hems of the draperies, the accessories and details of the costumes and equipment, and certain features such as the eyes, the lips, and the hair, were picked out with color, is well attested by recent discoveries.

To this painted decoration of the architectural sculpture of the Parthenon should be added another element, which is partly decorative and partly interpretative and supplementary. We refer to the adjuncts and accessories, usually of bronze, which were fastened into the marble. These are most numerous in the frieze, though they are not wholly absent from the metopes and pediments. These accessories and attributes, now for the most part lost, were weapons, wreaths, reins and bridles of horses, sashes, sword-belts, trays, in the case of the statue of Athena in the western pediment serpents of metal, bowls, and other utensils. Holes bored into the marble indicate often where these objects were attached.

In commenting on the general effect of the completed Parthenon M. Magne, in the work cited above, says: "The Parthenon is the mirror of Athenian civilization in the fifth century. At the time when Athens personified Greece, victorious and mistress of her own destiny, she adopts the simple forms of Dorian art, the art that was Greek *par excellence*, and refines it pursuant to her Ionian taste, but without modifying either the designs or the forms already created in Hellas." To get an adequate impression of the glories of the Parthenon in its completeness we need to combine the delicate refinements of its architecture, the matchless grace of its sculptural ornaments, and the subdued brilliancy of its painted decorations into one harmonious whole, and then imagine this structure, so simple in its beauty and yet so splendid in its wealth of ornament, set upon the rock of Athena and in the luminous atmosphere of the Athenian sky.



## SECTION B.

## THE PROPYLAEA AND THE TEMPLE OF WINGLESS VICTORY.

That the Propylaea was a part of the original plan for beautifying the Acropolis and providing a suitable entrance to the sanctuary of Athena has already been observed. The building of this noble structure was begun in the year after the dedication of the Parthenon, *i.e.* in 437, and work upon it ceased in 432. Its final completion was interrupted by the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, and the original

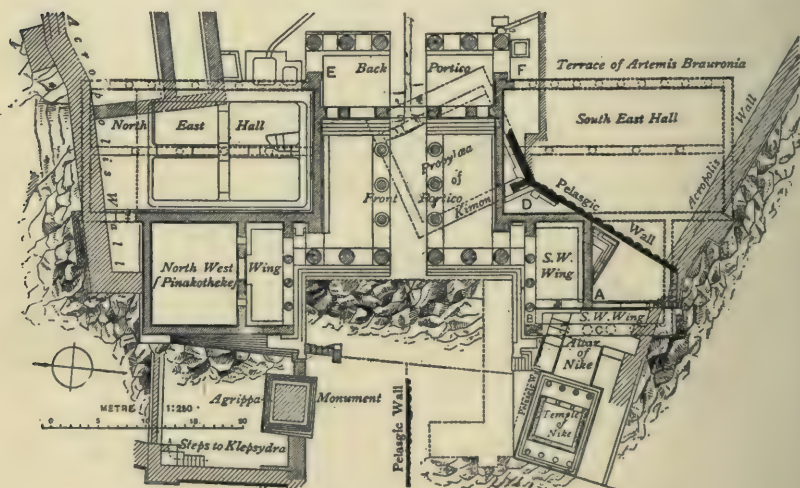


FIG. 79.—Ground-plan of the Propylaea. The dotted portions were projected only.

plans of Mnesicles the architect were never realized. What those plans were, and how far they failed of being executed, has been clearly shown by the investigations of Dörpfeld, whose drawing of the originally projected plans is here given. It was built of Pentelic marble and rivalled the Parthenon as one of the glories of Athens (103).

It has already been stated (see p. 72) that an older gateway (traces of which are indicated in the plan), oriented somewhat differently, and antedating the Persian war, and repaired by Themistocles and Cimon, preceded that



of Mnesicles, who reared his new portal over it. The problem that the architect had to solve was not an easy one. He had to erect a large structure upon a rapidly rising and rocky declivity, to fit it into its place symmetrically, and to make an impressive approach from below and suitable exit above, presenting at both sides a noble façade. To these architectural difficulties others, which will be considered later, were added when the plans were already in process of execution.

This structure has been studied and characterized most carefully by R. Bohn(104), upon whose work all later investigations and descriptions must necessarily be based. The ground plan shows in the centre the ascent, about twenty metres wide, once covered by the great Roman stairway (see above, p. 37). To the south stands the bastion which supports the little Nike temple (see Fig. 86). Nearly opposite, to the north, stands the basis of the monument erected in 27 B.C. in honor of M. Vipsanius Agrippa. Ancient remains, hatched in the cut, show that, as was pointed out before, the general line of the older walls was nearly parallel with this basis, but not with the later Roman stairway. Near the summit the great portal that gives entrance to the sacred enclosure rises majestically before us. Spanning a width of 45 metres (148 ft.) and a length of 31 metres (102 ft.), we see the ruins of this noble building. It consists of a central structure facing nearly west, with two wings flanking the approach on either side. The central structure, 25.04 m. (82 ft. 2 in.) long and 18.12 m. (57 ft. 6 in.) wide, is the portal proper, which consists of a wall pierced by five openings and two porticos, one in front and the other at the rear. The chief gateway is in the middle and is 7.37 m. (24 ft. 2 in.) high and 4.18 m. (13 ft. 8 in.) wide. The lintel forming this doorway is composed of two blocks of marble about 22 feet long. The size of these blocks is exceeded only by those that form the lintel over the doorway of the Parthenon. The two gateways on either side are somewhat smaller. These five gates were closed by massive doors of bronze, or at least plated with bronze(105). To the grating noise of these doors when opened Aristophanes refers in a famous passage

(*Knights*, 1326), in which a sight of the beautiful buildings of the Acropolis calls forth from the chorus the exclamation, "O, brilliant, ivy-crowned and enviable Athens!" The remains of marble linings in the doorways are later, probably Roman.

The original jambs are sunk and left quite rough with grooves for the reception of the wooden frame which carried the original bronze linings. Before and behind this wall with



FIG. 80.—The Propylaea. Present Appearance from the Southwest.

its five gates are the two porticos, one turned to the east, the other and larger to the west. Upon four marble steps, supported by a foundation of limestone blocks, stands the western portico, in a width of 18.12 m. (about 58 ft.) and a depth of 15.24 m. (about 49 ft.), supported in front by six massive Doric columns 8.81 m. (28 ft. 11 in.) high, and by two rows of Ionic columns within, three on each side, flanking the central passage way. The Doric columns in front have, of course, no base, but rise directly from the stylobate. But the tall Ionic columns (10.29 m., 33 ft. 9 in., high) have the Attic base, and are among the most beautiful

specimens of that style. The capitals of these columns are of the simpler Ionic type. Their volutes are marked by wonderful precision of outline. The fluting of the columns continues right up to the projecting moulding that crowns the shaft, with no intervening band of ornament. Upon these columns lay the architrave which supported the massive cross-beams (those in the side aisles measuring 6.30 m. (20 ft. 8 in.) in length), which carried the panelled ceiling of marble so much admired by Pausanias (i. 22).



FIG. 81.—The Propylaea. Central Passage and Doors.

Several of the marble coffers of this ceiling are preserved, showing clear traces of the original painted decoration. The central passageway rises gradually on an inclined slope, grooves being cut crosswise to make the ascent easier for the sacrificial victims that climbed the hill in the Panathenaic procession (106). A channel for conducting water cut into the rock to a width of 0.60 m. ran through the central passageway. At the eastern or inner side of the western portico, a flight of five steps leads up to the four side gates; the first four steps are of Pentelic marble, but the uppermost is of black

Eleusinian limestone. The slabs forming the orthostatae of the side walls are of the same material. The inner or eastern portico into which the five gateways open has the same width (59 ft.) as the western but is shallower, its depth, measured from the wall pierced by the five gates, being 7.35 m. (24 ft. 2 in.). Like the western portico, it has a façade of six Doric columns, which rest on a marble stylobate one step higher than the sill of the doorways. The entablature of the east portico runs over the north and south side walls as far as the wall that with its five openings forms the entrance proper; the entablature of the west portico runs as far as the antae of the north and south side walls (see cut 6, Fig. 82). On account of the difference in height of the two porticos an entablature running throughout the entire structure on the same level would be impossible. The outer side of the architrave of the west portico has the ordinary regulae, which suggests the triglyphon rising above them (see cut). On the inner side there is only a flat band to crown the upper edge. The triglyph frieze rises above the architrave and is of equal height with it. A Doric cornice crowns it. Where the two wings join the central structure mutules are not found on the cornice. The cornice of the wings is carried over the flat wall surface of the central structure in the form of a deeply-undercut cornice which is adjusted to the perpendicular smooth wall by means of an ogee moulding.

The pavement is of marble throughout. The pediment of both porticos and also the metopes were left plain, the simple severity of the Propylaea setting off by contrast the rich decorations of the Parthenon. The manner of the junction of the two porticos standing on different elevations is "more remarkable for its absence of artifice than for its beauty" (see cut 6). Of the entire structure the best preserved part is the north wing, which consists of a chamber nearly square, about  $10\frac{7}{10}$  by 9 metres (33 ft. 3 in. by 29 ft. 5 in.), with a portico 10.75 metres (35 ft. 3 in.) wide and 5.05 metres (16 ft. 7 in.) deep, facing south. The front of this portico consists of three Doric columns between two antae supporting an architrave and a frieze of triglyphs and metopes. The walls of the chamber are still preserved



to their full height. It was lighted from the portico by a door and by two windows in the partition wall, which for some reason were not placed symmetrically in relation to the door (see Fig. 79). The door-sill is a large block of Eleusinian limestone. Both without and within the chamber a band of black Eleusinian limestone enlivened the surface

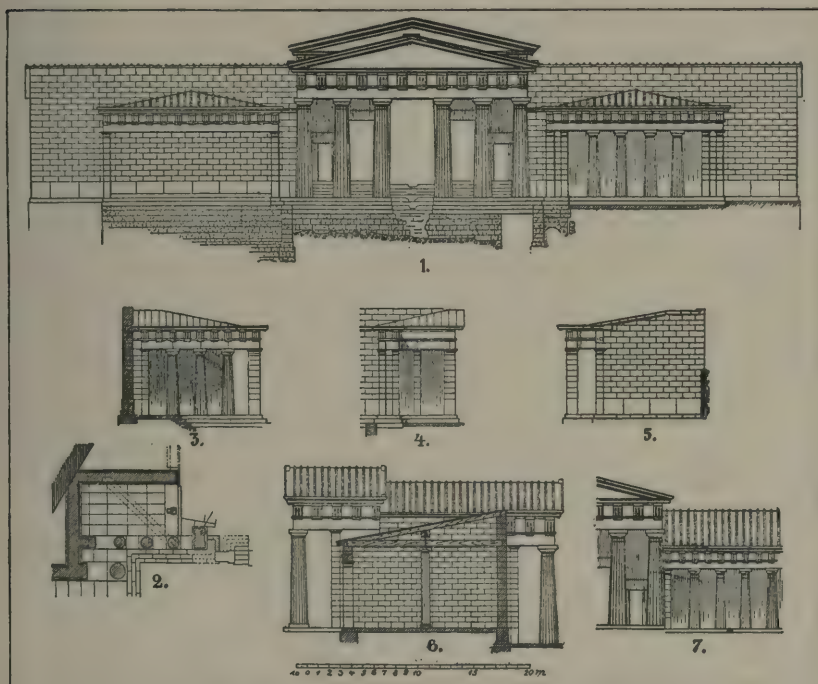


FIG. 82.—West Front of Propylaea. Cross-sections and Parts.

1. West Front of the Propylaea as originally planned.
2. Plan of the South Wing as built, modified from Original Plan.
3. South Wing as seen from the North.
4. South Wing as seen from the West.
5. South Wing as seen from the South.
6. Cross-section of the Northeast Wing (not built) with Side Elevation of the Central Part.
7. Part of the East Front. The Wing was not built.

of the wall. Around the walls of the portico, on a level with the sill of the windows, a bench was built to provide a resting place for visitors. This chamber is doubtless the room referred to by Pausanias (i. 22, 6), in which were to be seen the paintings described by him. Hence in modern times the name *Pinakothek*, picture gallery, has been given

to this chamber. Pausanias gives a list of these paintings, and Polemon is said to have written a whole treatise upon them. The subjects seem to have been taken chiefly from heroic legend, and two pictures are named as the work of Polygnotus. Just what these paintings were is a matter of doubt. The walls show no trace of having been prepared to receive stucco nor of any contrivance for hanging pictures, hence the conjecture that the paintings were easel-pieces or tablets. Bursian (107), however, thinks, as the walls show rather careless finish, that the probability is in favor of some kind of wall painting, possibly a fresco decoration. Dörpfeld believes that the paintings were wall frescos, and that the band of Eleusinian stone favors the view that the entire wall above the dado was thus decorated.

The original design of the architect was to build two wings to the central structure which should exactly correspond in dimensions, and which should span the entire breadth of the rock, which measures here about 55 metres (nearly 180 ft.). On the north side there was nothing to hinder the execution of this plan so far as dimensions were concerned, but on the south side a wing of the same dimensions, as we see from a glance at the plan of the Acropolis, would entrench upon the precinct of Athena Nike and of Artemis Brauronia. The plan of this wing, accordingly, had to be modified. Independently of this, however, the design of the two wings must have been dissimilar on the west front owing to the difference in the level of the Acropolis at each side. For on the north side the rock falls precipitously away and a high substructure was required to support this wing at the west side. Hence this west wall would naturally be solid. But on the south side the Nike bastion projected to the west, and here was located the shrine of Athena Nike. Access to this platform and its shrine might not be cut off; accordingly a passageway running through the south wing of the Propylaea had to be provided. Furthermore, had the south wing been made as deep as the north wing, it would have encroached on the precinct of Artemis Brauronia which lay adjacent to the southeast. Now the south wing, as modified from its original plan and actually built, consists simply of a rectangular hall facing north

without any chamber in the rear. The east and south sides of this hall were continuous walls; but the south-east corner where these walls join, that is on the outside, is bevelled at the bottom, so as to fit as closely as possible to the Pelasgic wall that formed the boundary of the Artemis Brauronia

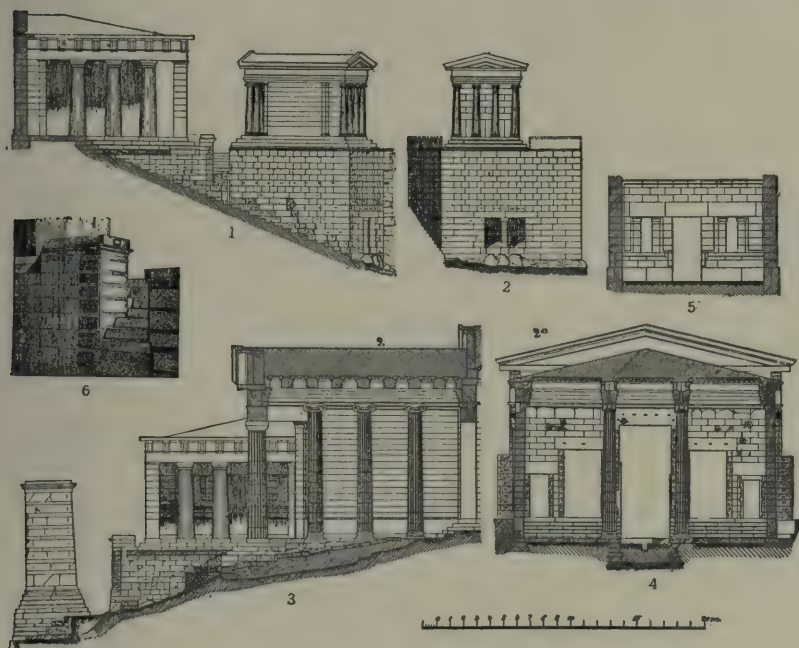


FIG. 83.—The Propylaea and Temple of Wingless-Victory. Cross-sections.

1. South Wing of the Propylaea (looking North) and North Front of the Bastion supporting the Temple of Victory.
2. West Front of the Bastion.
3. Section of the Propylaea through the Central Part showing the Ionic Colonnade and the Front of the North Wing.
4. Cross-section showing the Five Doors.
5. Front of the Partition Wall of the Pinakothek that separates the Chamber from the Portico.
6. Steps of Marble leading up to the Platform of the Temple of Victory as they originally appeared.

precinct. This portico on its north front corresponds to and matches the portico of the north wing, and consists of three Doric columns between antae (see cut) crowned by the usual architrave and triglyph frieze. In the changes that this portico has suffered, one of the three original columns has been destroyed, and a patched up pillar has been made to take its place. The correspondence between



the porticos of the north and south wings facing each other was effected by an architectural device that requires explanation. The roof of the hall did not extend beyond the third column, that is to say, the hall itself was not as wide as its portico. At the west the roof was supported by a beam which rested on the third column (see cut 2, Fig. 82), and was carried over to the southern wall by the help of an intervening pillar. But to produce apparent symmetry in the front view of the Propylaea the western anta of the north façade of this portico was added. This anta was, architecturally, a mere sham, for it had no wall behind it and nothing to support. Such a strange device, unparalleled in Greek architecture, must have had better reasons to justify it than merely to produce a symmetrical appearance. Now, as we have seen, the original plan probably contemplated a wing in this position corresponding in dimensions with the north wing, but opening by a colonnade on the Nike bastion. But this plan apparently could not be carried out without encroaching on the precincts of Athena Nike and Artemis Brauronia. The simplest way to have modified this plan would have been to build only a vestibule to correspond exactly with the front portico of the north wing, omitting the square hall behind it. From a study of the stones of the anta of the south wall, which are preserved, Dörpfeld has ascertained that the south wall stood exactly opposite the second column of the projected western portico, assuming that the intercolumniation of this portico would have been the same as that of the northern face, an assumption proved to be correct from the measurements. The sham anta then would have been the northern anta of this western portico had it been built.

A glance at the plan of the Propylaea shows that the southern wall of this wing corresponds to the partition wall which separates the rear chamber of the north wing from its portico. In other words, Mnesicles carried out his original plan as far as he was able, apparently introducing this modification of the false anta not simply for the sake of conforming the north portico of the south wing to the south portico of the north wing, but also with the hope of ultimately executing the original design of the south wing. According to this



design then the south wing would have corresponded in dimensions or appearance with the north wing, excepting on the west front, as pointed out above, and would have furnished an approach to the terrace of the Nike bastion. Now whether the little temple of Athena Nike had actually been built or was simply projected at the time when Mnesicles was planning the Propylaea is not definitely known. It seems hardly probable, however, that the present Nike temple



FIG. 84.—South Wing of Propylaea.

could have been considered in the plans of Mnesicles, for had these plans been fully carried out at this point, the projected portico at the west would have encroached upon the precinct of Athena Nike, and besides would have seriously marred the effect of the temple.

Before discussing further the relation of the Athena-Victory temple to the Propylaea, let us follow Dörpfeld in his brilliant reconstruction (given in the *Athenische Mitteilungen*, x. p. 38 ff., 131 ff.) of the original plan of the Propylaea as designed by Mnesicles. Even a casual inspection of the walls of the Propylaea shows that this structure remained incomplete and

unfinished. Even those portions which were apparently completed were left without a smooth finish either in walls or pavement, a point to which reference will be made again more fully. On the outside of the walls of the building we see the bosses left for the masons to lift the blocks of marble into place without chipping them. These signs of incompleteness are probably due to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, which for a time put a stop to the plans of Pericles



FIG. 85.—The Propylaea. East Front.

for adorning the Acropolis. But it is clear from the appearance of such portions as were erected that the original plans of the architect contemplated a structure, the missing parts of which can alone explain the peculiar features of the parts that have been built. What these missing parts would have been, and how they stand related to the parts before us, has been skilfully shown by Dr. Dörpfeld in the article already referred to. The substance of this article, so far as it relates to the matter in hand, may be summarized as follows: Mnesicles intended to add at the east two large halls, one on each side of the portal and backing up against the two front wings. The northeast hall was to be enclosed on the south by the northern wall of the central building,

and on the west by the eastern wall of the northwest wing extending clear to the outer wall of the Acropolis. The east front of this hall was to consist of a row of nine Doric columns. This reconstruction is inferred from the following features of the building as we see it: (1) A cornice, such as is usual, extends round the two walls which would have been the inner walls of the hall on the south and west; but this cornice is meaningless at present, being on the outer walls of the central building and the northwest wing. (2) Holes are left in the walls for the reception of the roof-beams above the cornice (108). (3) An anta is seen at the southeast corner of the projected hall, facing north, and clearly intended to receive an architrave extended northward. This hall was probably planned to extend north to the fortification wall of the Acropolis. The architectural features above described indicate an unexpected interruption of the work of carrying out the magnificent design of Mnesicles, unhappily never again to be resumed. That the cause of this interruption was the outbreak of the unfortunate war between Sparta and Athens can hardly be doubted.

That a similar hall was planned on the southeast side of the portal is inferred from the existence of a corresponding anta which would have formed its northeast corner. Had this hall been actually built it would have occupied a large part of the precincts sacred to Artemis Brauronia (see plan), and it may well be that the vigorous opposition of the priesthood of this sanctuary successfully prevented the execution of this part of the plan of Mnesicles from the very start. However this may be, it is worthy of notice that in this part of the building we do not find any cornice or any other indication of preparatory steps for an additional structure, as in the case of the northeast hall, excepting one socket or hole for a roof-beam and the anta mentioned above. According to Dörpfeld's reconstruction, this hall also was designed to have a row of nine Doric columns at the front, and to be of equal size with the northeast hall.

To complete our account of this building a few words should be said with reference to the difficult subject of the reconstruction of the roof. On this matter we must be content with accepting the results of the investigations and



conclusions of Penrose, Bohn and Dörpfeld. From our illustration (cuts 1, 6, Fig. 82) it will be seen that the roof that covered the eastern half of the central part of the portal rose above the western half, showing toward the west a pediment that was partly lost in the abutting ridge of the roof of the lower western half. From peculiarly shaped cornice pieces that were found built into the so-called Turkish tower erected in the south wing of the Propylaea (pulled down in 1875), Bohn reconstructed the roofs of the two wings as gables. But this reconstruction has been shown to involve so many difficulties that it is quite impossible. Penrose (*Athen. Archit.* Chap. x.) and Dörpfeld (*A.M.* x. Tafel v.) have found a better solution of the problem. According to their view the roof of the south wing had one low hip (cut 3) rising from the north and west and making a pent-roof, having but one slope or incline. The roof of this hall, as was stated above, ended at the third column of the front facing north, regardless of the isolated corner pilaster.

The roof construction of the north wing was similar except that in this case the roof covered the entire structure.

The Propylaea as actually built, though a less complete and imposing structure than its original design, was the largest and most beautiful building of its kind ever erected by the Greeks. It stood erect, nearly intact, as Mnesicles left it, until about 1656, when the explosion of a magazine of powder, which the Turks had stored within, blew up the building and destroyed most of the roof. At the time of Spon and Wheler's visit in 1676 the west front of the portal together with its pediment seems to have been still entire, and the great Ionic columns in the interior of the portico still supported some of the marble beams of the roof. The later fortunes of this noble building are given in our concluding chapter (see p. 318).

Before we dismiss from our view the Propylaea as it appeared in its pristine beauty, let us take a glance at the architectural refinements and painted decorations of the building. The absence of the usual sculptural decoration from the pediments and metopes has already been noticed (109). The pitch of the pediments of the western and eastern



porticos is, according to Penrose, almost identical with that of the pediments of the Parthenon, the rise being one in four and fourteen hundredths (1 : 4.14). The stylobate both of the central structure and of the wings, unlike that of the Parthenon, shows no curvature, but the lines of the entablature of the porticos were curved. The columns of the western portico are taller by nearly a foot than those of the eastern. The proportions of the columns are nearly the same as of those of the Parthenon, but the architrave and triglyph frieze are relatively larger, while the cornice is considerably less in proportion. The effect of the whole gives an impression of grace and lightness, so that ἀετὸς προπύλαιος became proverbial for a slender and graceful pediment.

The antae lean forward in the ratio of about 1 in 150, and the walls incline inward at an angle of about 1 in 70. A close inspection of the construction of the walls of the Propylaea reveals the existence of open joints between the blocks, while in some places tool-marks are plainly visible, especially in the cuttings of the borders on the blocks of marble and in the circular beddings of the columns. These peculiarities are believed by Dörpfeld to be due to the fact that the walls and pavement never received their complete finish. In building a wall of marble the blocks were cut so that a slightly-bevelled edge joined a square edge, leaving the joint open to a slight depth. This was to be dressed off so as to secure a perfect joint after the blocks were built into the wall. By this means the edges of the blocks were saved from being chipped in the process of building. Now this final cutting down to secure close joints was never wholly completed. Again, the columns and antae, it will be observed, stand in a circular bedding. This, Dörpfeld thinks, is provisional. Later the surface of the pavement was to be worked down on an exact level with the bottom of the column. Again, wherever a wall is bounded by a plinth or a cornice, or abuts upon another wall or a pilaster, there we see a slightly-sunk border or edge worked into the face of the blocks of marble. Whether this also is to be regarded as a provisional gage to guide the stone-cutter in trimming down his blocks to a common level, or whether this was an intentional device to

represent a fillet or border may be a matter of doubt. Bohn believes that such a general finishing off ("Überarbeitung") of the Propylaea can hardly be assumed, and shows that this last feature at any rate is likely to have been intentional.

A few words remain to be said concerning the painted decoration. In general the coloring was more subdued than that of the Parthenon. The edges of the volutes and of the echinus of the Ionic capitals are colored red and blue by Fenger. The same authority on polychromy puts an egg-and-dart ornament on the thin abacus of the Ionic capitals. The panels of the coffered ceiling show the palmetto ornament in gold upon a blue background. An egg-and-dart ornament is found upon the mouldings that border the coffers. The cymatium was decorated with an egg-and-dart pattern of a large size. The hawk's-beak moulding crowning both the oblique and the horizontal cornice had a pattern of Egyptian design, similar to that found on the cornice of the Parthenon, colored alternately red and blue.

Even in its incomplete form the Propylaea was the pride of Athens. So much was it admired in ancient days that Epaminondas is reported to have said to his fellow-citizens that if they desired to give to their city a place by the side of Athens they should carry the Propylaea to Thebes and erect it before the Cadmea. The comic poet Phoenicides, in chiding the people of Athens for their vanity, says: "They make so much ado about their myrtles and their honey, and their Propylaea and their dried figs." Demosthenes mentions this structure with the Parthenon as one of the proud memorials of Athenian greatness, and Aristophanes in his comedy glorifies Athens, brilliant and famous in song and story, ruled over by King Demos, who is seen seated on the sacred rock of the Acropolis when the great gates of the Propylaea swing open and disclose to view the temples within. In later times it has fitly been styled "the brilliant jewel on the front of the rocky coronet of the Athenian Acropolis."

That the conspicuous little temple that crowns the bastion at the southwest corner of the Acropolis, and that was dedicated to Athena Nike, should be included in a general plan for beautifying the Acropolis and rebuilding its shrines, seems at first blush most probable. But when we come to observe that

this temple and the Propylaea appear to encroach upon each other's domain, and to fail at certain points of perfect adjustment in plan, it is apparent that either these buildings were not projected at the same time and with reference to each other, or that for some reason the original plan suffered important modifications. This want of harmonious adjustment of these buildings to each other has raised the question of their relative precedence (110), a question which has been much debated (cf. Judeich, *Topogr.* p. 201). We have already seen that the bastion had been changed on its northern side from its original form, and that this was done in connection with the building of the Propylaea, with the axis of which it was put in alignment. That this final shaping of the bastion was done after the temple was already standing seems hardly probable. But not only in the way indicated was the form of the bastion changed, its level on the top also appears to have been changed, and this is more pertinent to the question before us. The evidence for this change is as follows: The platform on which the temple stands is reached by the small marble stairway leading up from the ascent to the Propylaea. These steps, five in number, are ancient: but the podium which supports them is of the same period as the Roman stairway.

Professor Wolters (111) was the first to notice that these steps and the present level of the pavement are out of joint with each other, since a final half-step is needed in order to reach the present level. That a final half-step should have been built to fit this stairway to its landing is wholly improbable. Equally improbable is it that these steps should have had originally an unequal rise. These considerations lead Wolters to conclude that the original level of the pavement was different and higher, to which the stairway was fitted. In his opinion this lowering of the level was made when the temple was built, and was due to the effort to bring this level into some harmonious adjustment to the stylobate of the Propylaea which was already standing. Dörpfeld, however, rejects the view of Wolters, and shows that a mal-adjustment of the stairway and the platform of the Nike temple did not originally exist. He points out in proof of this that the controlling course (*euthyn-teria*) of the foundation of the temple was exactly on a level with the surface of the ground or platform that supported it,



that accordingly the pavement was as much higher as the top of the controlling courses now lies above the present surface, and that by raising this surface to this level the steps and the pavement are in perfect adjustment. In other words, the present pavement is by so much lower than the original level as to suffice to make the last half-step a whole one, and so stairway and pavement would be in exact correspondence. From this it would follow, according to Dörpfeld, that the level



FIG. 86.—Bastion of Temple of Wingless-Victory. Steps and Platform.

or surface of the bastion was lowered after the temple had been built, and that this was done with reference to the Propylaea, which was a later structure. The latest contribution to this question is that of A. Köster (112), who accepts the view of Dörpfeld as regards the original level of the platform of the temple and its relation to the stairway, but dissents from his conclusion that the temple is older than the Propylaea. Köster, with Wolters, holds that the conclusion of Dörpfeld is disproved by the fact that the lowest step of the stylobate of the southwest wing of the Propylaea is of limestone, and



not of marble, and that the builder must have intended that this course of masonry should be hidden, and not counted as a step of the stylobate. Accordingly, when the foundation wall of the Propylaea was laid, the level of the bastion was higher than at present, and the above-named limestone course was not in sight ; but when later the temple of Victory was built this level, for artistic and architectural reasons, was brought down to the line of the controlling course (*euthynteria*) of the foundation, that is to its upper edge, and by this process the limestone foundation of the Propylaea became exposed to view, and then was covered up by a gradual slope of the level of the pavement from the temple to the Propylaea. Whichever view we adopt as to the order of precedence of the temple and Propylaea, it is clear enough that if they were planned with reference to each other this plan was subsequently modified. As was intimated above (p. 178), had the original plan of the Propylaea been carried out the temple and the west portico of the south wing would have come so close together as to make the usual sacrifice of a cow at the altar of Athena in front of the temple an impossibility.

An inscription found in 1897 on the north slope of the Acropolis below the cave of Apollo bears on the question of the relative age of the temple and the Propylaea. This inscription (113) records a decree ordering Callicrates, the architect of the Parthenon, to build a stone temple and altar to Athena Victory. It is reasonably certain that the temple here referred to is the one we are discussing. From the form of the letters the decree cannot be older than 460 B.C. nor later than 450 B.C. If this decree was immediately put into execution the date of the temple would be settled. But competent critics like Puchstein (114) and Furtwängler cannot believe that the style of the architecture and sculpture dates so far back, but points rather to a time later than the Parthenon and Propylaea. In the light of this newly-found inscription and of the architectural style, and from the other considerations above advanced, the relation of the temple and the Propylaea may be stated as follows: The decree for building the temple was enacted about 450 B.C. (115). Probably political strife between the party of Pericles

and his opponents led to a postponement in the execution of this decree, the conservative party championing the prerogatives of this temple, the party of Pericles being eager to carry on the great plans for building the Parthenon and Propylaea.

The project of building the temple to Athena Nike, which had been held in abeyance for several years, was revived under the leadership of the party that was hostile to Pericles, and Mnesicles was obliged to alter his plan of the southwest wing of the Propylaea, which was already in course of construction. As an additional proof of the priority of the substructure of the Propylaea, it should be remarked that recent investigations show that the pavement around the temple lies on massive walls which are fitted to the foundations of the Propylaea.

The marble platform on which the temple was built is still nearly entire on the north side, but on the east and south sides only a few pieces remain. On the west side the temple was built so close to the edge of the bastion that no room was left for a pavement. The coping of the bastion on the north side consisted of single blocks of marble which form the architectural finish of this wall and also of the pilaster that stands east of the flight of steps, and make the finish of the foundation wall of the south wing of the Propylaea. Upon this wall stood one of the equestrian figures mentioned by Pausanias (see p. 277 below).

Immediately opposite the middle of the east front of the temple are the traces of what is believed to have been the altar mentioned in an inscription (*C.I.A.* ii. 163 and 471), on which the usual offering of a cow was made. Round the precipitous sides of the bastion on which the temple stood was built a balustrade about 1.05 m. (3 ft. 5 in.) high, composed of marble slabs which were clamped together, and which supported a bronze railing. The sockets into which the marble slabs fitted can still be seen on the north and west sides of the temple. Some of the slabs and a number of the fragments of the balustrade have been found, and are preserved in the Acropolis Museum. The slabs were polished and left blank on the inner side, but the outer side of them was adorned with a series of figures in relief, which are justly regarded as among the most beautiful specimens of ancient

sculpture extant(116). That this series of reliefs should have some reference to the temple and its cult was to be expected. The frieze represents a number of Victories, some of whom are leading victims to sacrifice, while others are engaged in erecting trophies or in bringing in the spoils of war to the goddess.



FIG. 87.—Relief of "Sandal-Binder" on Slab of Balustrade.

Perhaps the most admired of all these graceful figures is that known as the "Sandal-Binder." Apparently hastening to reach a goal, this beautiful creature is stooping down to fasten the loose thong of her sandal, only to resume presently her impetuous movement for a moment hindered. The frieze is cut in rather high relief, so that certain parts



are almost in the round and free from the surface of the slab. Holes are seen for insertion of metal stays and fastening of bronze accessories. Color was probably used to represent the feathers of the wings of the Victories and to pick out details of costume and ornament, possibly also to set off the frieze against a colored background in order that its effectiveness might be enhanced, especially as seen from below. "As a work of decorative relief," says Gardner, "rich in flowing line and varied waves of drapery and beauty of body and limb that glow 'through the veil that seeks to hide them,' the Nike balustrade holds an unrivalled place."

Having discussed the age of the temple, its relation to the Propylaea, and its balustrade and bastion, we are now prepared to study the temple itself. This elegant little structure, which catches the eye of every visitor to the Acropolis the first moment he begins its ascent, remained almost intact until about 1687, when, owing to the threatened attack of Morosini, the Turks, in order to strengthen the defenses of the Acropolis, erected new bulwarks into which they built the material of this temple, which they pulled down for this purpose. When these bulwarks were demolished in 1835, Ross, Schaubert and Hansen recovered the stones of the temple built into them, and skilfully rebuilt out of its original remains the temple as it now stands on its old foundations. The building is almost entire excepting a portion of the frieze, the cornice, the gables and the roof. Viewed from a distance, the effect of the temple is striking and beautiful, but on a nearer view the impression produced is less satisfactory. This is not strange when we reflect that the old stones were more or less injured in the process of rebuilding, and that hence it was impossible to secure the precision and finish that distinguished the original architecture. The temple consists of a small oblong cella, facing east, with a portico of four Ionic columns at its front and back. The west wall of the cella was closed. The two side walls end in antae, between which stand two slender pilasters to support the coffered ceiling of the portico and to make the framework of the door into the cella. Metal railings enclosed the portico at the sides and connected the pilasters with the side walls. The cella contained a wooden image, according to Pausanias



(v. 26, 6), of the goddess Athena, in the character and with the attributes of Victory. She held a pomegranate in her right hand and a helmet in her left. Since in Greek art the personification of Victory was represented as a winged figure, and the goddess Athena, who was always wingless, was represented here as without wings but yet in the character of Victory, the temple, which was properly of Athena Victory, came quite naturally to be known as the temple of the wingless Victory (*Νίκη Ἀπτερος*). The temple is built of



FIG. 83.—Temple of Wingless Victory.

Pentelic marble, and rests upon a base having three steps, counting the stylobate the uppermost step. This measures 8.27 m. (27 ft. 2 in.) on the long side and 5.64 m. (18 ft. 4 in.) at the end. The temple is set in the northwest corner of the bastion, leaving a triangular space between it and the north edge of the bastion, and a rectangular space on the south. The Ionic order as seen in this temple is quite similar to that of the Ionic columns of the Propylaea. The columns show rather strong diminution, have 24 flutings which continue up to the capital, and the simple form of the capital with a plain channel and single spiral in the volute. The architrave consists of three solid blocks of

marble, showing three bands on the outside, and crowned with a moulding and a cymatium. An Ionic frieze, sculptured in high relief, extends around the temple. Four slabs of the frieze are in the British Museum, and have been replaced by casts of terra-cotta which detract decidedly from the general appearance of the building. The scene on the east front of the frieze has been interpreted as a council of the gods, some seated, others standing, pronouncing judgment on Europe and Asia (117). The figures are so much defaced that it is impossible to identify them, except possibly Athena and Zeus. Scenes of battle occupy the other three sides. On the west side the combat is between Greeks and Greeks. This scene has been interpreted as a reference to the battle of Plataea in which the Athenians were arrayed against the Thebans who were fighting on the side of the Persians. But in the scenes represented on the north and the south sides Greeks are seen fighting against Persians. There is great probability, therefore, that these three scenes are commemorative of the three great battles, Marathon, Plataea and Salamis, in which the Athenians conquered the Persians. If this interpretation is correct, each side of the temple, as Gardner (*Anc. Ath.* p. 376) remarks, appropriately faces the direction of the field where the victory it records was achieved. To the south and west one looks over the sea and upon Salamis; to the west rises Mount Cithaeron just behind which, a little to the north, lies Plataea; and to the northeast is the pass by which the Athenians returned from Marathon.

A word remains to be said concerning the general style of the sculptures that adorned the temple and the balustrade, and the bearing this has upon the date of the temple. It is generally held that the frieze of the temple as well as that of the balustrade shows a later style than the frieze of the Parthenon. Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 450) points out the pictorial treatment of these reliefs in contrast with the more sedate style of the Parthenon relief, and conjectures that Callimachus was the sculptor of the frieze of the Nike temple. This view is taken by him to support the theory of the comparatively late date of the temple. That the frieze of this temple is later in style than that of the Parthenon can hardly be doubted. This, to be sure, is not a conclusive

argument by itself for the later date of the temple, though it certainly favors that view. However that may be, it cannot be shown that the frieze of the balustrade is any proof of the age of the temple. Bohn has shown that for architectural reasons this balustrade seems not to have been included in the original plan of the temple, but to have been an after-thought. How much later it was added can only be inferred from the reliefs on the slabs. We are inclined to agree with Michaelis(118) who sees in this frieze a commemoration of the victories of Athens at Abydos and Cyzicos. If this opinion is correct, we may see in the figure of Athena sitting on the prow of a ship and of a rudder fastened to a trophy the emblems of the victory gained on the Hellespont by Athens in 408/07. Furtwängler, then, is not in error in supposing that this balustrade was added about the same time that the resolution was passed for the completion of the Erechtheum. This building, the last of the great structures erected on the Acropolis, now claims our attention.

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### SECTION C.

#### THE ERECHTHEUM.

The destruction wrought by the Persians doubtless included the ancient temple of Erechtheus-Poseidon, which had stood from the earliest times on the spot hallowed by the ancient "tokens," the trident mark and the sea of Erechtheus, the location of which, as we shall show further on, has been clearly determined. If the view be correct that the predecessor of the Erechtheum was also a *double temple*, in which was enshrined the most revered image of Athena, then all the more was it imperative that a magnificent structure worthy of Athena Polias and of Erechtheus should be included in the plans for beautifying the Acropolis.

In giving an account of this building, we meet with many problems which may never be conclusively solved, problems involving the titles by which the building was known, the uses to which the various apartments were put, and the relation this temple bears to the old Athena temple and to



the Parthenon. In our treatment of this unique and beautiful structure, let us first inquire into its history, next discuss its plans and uses, and thirdly examine its architectural qualities and sculptural decorations, relegating the discussion of the relation it bears to the other temples on the Acropolis to Appendix iii. As already intimated, we believe that the present temple is the successor of an older and doubtless smaller structure that stood on about the same spot. The unique plan of the building suggests of itself that some very special requirement or situation must have dictated its location and arrangement. This requirement is found in the existence of the so-called "tokens" (*σημεῖα*), to wit, the salt well and the trident mark, and the olive tree, each having a sacred and symbolic meaning, pointing to the triple worship and trinity of divinities to whom the temple was dedicated, and whose altars were set up within its walls. Scanty remains of the foundation of an earlier structure, marked *S* in our plan, are believed by Penrose to have belonged to an earlier temple or shrine which occupied this spot. But these remains are too few to afford any idea of what this structure was. That they are earlier than the present Erechtheum is most probable, and that they belonged to the so-called Pandroseum (*E*), which lay partly beneath the Erechtheum, is possible.

Just when the Erechtheum was begun is not known. Michaelis argues that no time since the death of Pericles was so favorable for the beginning of this building as the period of quiet and cessation of hostilities which set in with the conclusion of the peace of Nicias, that is about 421. But Dörpfeld is inclined to put the date a few years earlier and in closer relation with the time of the building of the Propylaea, possibly in 432. From an inscription (119) containing a report of the building commissioners on the state of progress of the new temple, it is known that the building was far advanced, but still incomplete, in 409 B.C. From other inscriptions (120) giving specifications of the work done by the masons and other workmen, together with the sums of money paid to each artisan for his work, it is inferred that in 407 the building was complete, though not finished in all its details (121). About a year later, 406, the temple was injured by fire, if we interpret the statement of Xenophon



(*Hellenica*, i. 6, 1), "in the following year in which there was an eclipse of the moon and the ancient temple of Athena in Athens was set on fire," as referring to this building and not to the old Hecatompedon, as Dörpfeld does (122). From another inscription (*C.I.A.* ii. 829) commonly dated 395/4 (but dated by Dörpfeld in 406/5 from a different restoration of the name of the Archon (123)), we learn that repairs were made on the parts of the building that had been injured by the fire. When we come to treat of the details of its architecture and sculpture we shall see that the last finishing touches to the building were never given. The subsequent history of the Erechtheum can only be understood in relation with the plan of the building which must now occupy our attention.

The Erechtheum is, in its main part, a rectangular structure, 20.16 metres (66 ft. 2 in.) in length by 11.17 metres (36 ft. 7 in.) in breadth. Seen from the east, it presents the appearance of an Ionic hexastyle temple. It is built of Pentelic marble, except that the frieze had a background of Eleusinian limestone. The original beauty of the exterior of the walls, though greatly marred, still excites admiration. They are built of marble blocks carefully fitted together and polished, crowned at the top by a richly-decorated moulding that is continued in the capitals of the antae at the corners. The lowest course of the wall consists of blocks set up edgewise and of double the height of the other courses, the so-called *orthostas* of a Greek building. This has at the bottom a projecting concave moulding that gives not only a finish to the lowest course of the wall, but makes a beautiful transition to a moulding immediately below it, consisting of scotia and torus, and crowning the course of marble that corresponds to the upper step of the stylobate of a peristyle. Two marble steps lie beneath this upper course, and the whole encircles the building and produces the effect of the usual stylobate of a Greek temple with three steps. The Erechtheum has three porticos. At the east front is a portico of six Ionic columns, 6.59 metres (21 ft. 7 in.) high, including the capital; the other two porticos project from the building near its western front, opposite to each other. The spacious north porch had six Ionic columns, four in the front and

one behind each corner column, which supported the ceiling and the roof. The smaller southern porch was enclosed by a parapet about six feet high, from the floor level of the interior, upon which stood six sculptured figures of "maidens" (*κόραι*), as they are styled in the inventory, though the later term caryatids is also applied to them. These figures carried the ceiling and the roof. Four of them stand at the front of the porch and one behind each of the corner caryatids, an arrangement, it will be observed, corresponding to that



FIG. 89.—Exterior of South Wall of Erechtheum.

of the columns of the north portico. The original appearance of the west front of the temple suffered much change. The older drawings and engravings, such as those of Dalton and Stuart, show four half columns built into a wall bounded by two antae and pierced by three small windows, the southernmost intercolumniation being left free. These columns and this wall have recently been restored. But from the character of the masonry, there is reason to believe that these half-columns and windows date from the Roman period, and that the building had originally a west front of four Ionic columns standing on a low wall, and that the four

northern intercolumniations were built up with a parapet below, and with a railing or screen of woodwork above, while the southernmost was left open (124). Almost the whole of the western wall was blown down by a storm in 1852. The main part of the Erechtheum was covered presumably with marble tiles, but the ceiling was of wood and was coffered, as we learn from an inscription (125), in which mention is made of carpenters in connection with parts of the roof. The



FIG. 90.—West Front of Erechtheum (partly restored); showing North Porch restored.

building had a gable at each end, that is to the east and west, and the north porch also had a gable, but there is no evidence for the existence of pediment groups of sculpture.

The peculiar plan of the Erechtheum was in part due to two causes, or perhaps more properly to one, and that was the necessity of including within its enclosure the sacred tokens, as well as of providing a cella for the venerated image of Athena Polias. This necessity involved another, that of locating this structure upon a spot where the rock falls rapidly away from the southeast to the northwest. Hence the building had to be erected upon different levels.



The east front of the building is about three metres higher than the west, and the south side is on the same level as the eastern, while the stereobate of the north side corresponds with that of the west front. The west half of the building accordingly lies about three metres ( $9\frac{3}{4}$  ft.) lower than the eastern. A flight of twelve steps descended along the north wall of the temple from the higher level at the east to the lower level on which the north porch stands. Traces of



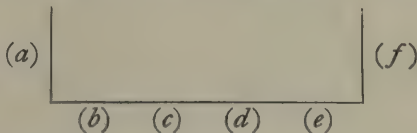
FIG. 91.—East Front of Erechtheum, Porch of "the Maidens."

the existence of these steps are plainly to be seen on the face of the north wall of the temple. From this porch a lofty and richly-adorned doorway led into the west chamber. Besides this door there was, of course, a door in the east portico (*A*) leading into the east chamber (*B*). Recent investigations (see p. 331) make it certain that there was a window on each side of this door. A small door (*g*) opened from the porch of "the Maidens" into the lower or basement story of the building, to which a stairway, of which only a few steps remain, led down. Access to this stairway in the porch was gained by means of an opening (not a regular door) through the parapet



at the north end of the east side of the porch, which seems from the masonry to be original. There was also a small doorway (1) in the southwest corner of the north portico, where it overlapped the northwest corner of the temple, opening upon the enclosure (*E*) west of the temple, to which the name Pandroseum may be given (see p. 216 below). Leading into the same enclosure was another door (*m*) built into the west wall. The curious position of this door directly under a column was probably determined by a wall (*f*) bounding to the north what may be called the Cecropium (see p. 216 below). We can still see the place where this cross-wall joined the west wall of the temple. The antiquity of this door (*m*) is attested by the great lintel above it, which is formed of one block equal in height to two courses of the stones of which the temple is built, and which extends the same distance on each side of the door. The rough work on the jambs probably dates from the time when this door was enlarged and used by the Christians as the main entrance to their church.

Of the exterior of the temple we see to-day the following parts remaining: The west façade recently restored as far as possible; portions of the walls largely rebuilt in 1837-8; five columns of the eastern portico with their architrave; a few blocks of the frieze (126); the northwestern porch with its columns, entablature, ceiling, and roof rebuilt in 1903; and "the Maidens" portico with its entablature, partly restored, and four of the original caryatids, *i.e.* (*a*), (*b*), (*d*), (*e*). The caryatid marked (*c*) was taken away by Lord Elgin and is now in the British Museum; its place is supplied by a terra-cotta copy.



The figure marked (*f*) is chiefly a restoration in marble (127). Badly shattered as the exterior of the temple is, yet enough of it remains to enable us to get a fair idea of its peculiar form and beauty. But this is not the case when we consider the interior, for this has undergone so many changes that it can give us a very indefinite impression of its original form and the appearance of its different apartments.

The accompanying plan presents in outline the present appearance of the interior. We see the foundations of three walls. One was a cross-wall ( $r, r$ ) from north to south just east of the great doorway opening upon the northern porch. The other two walls run at right angles to the first. Only the lower courses of the first of these walls was part of the original building, the other two walls being late additions, built probably by the Christians to support the pillars by which the nave was separated from the side aisles. But

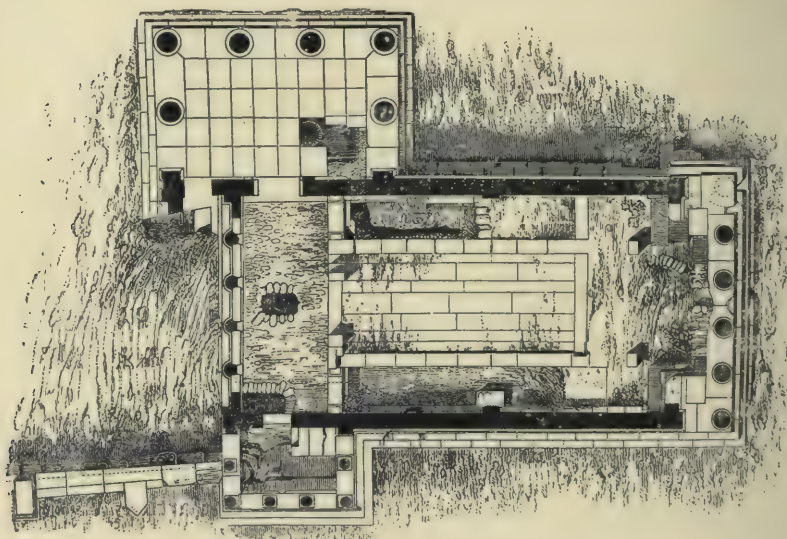


FIG. 92.—Ground-plan of Erechtheum in its Present State.

the western cross-wall ( $r, r$ ) was probably not a real wall, but a screen, partitioning off the western chamber ( $D$ ) from the adjacent apartment ( $C$ ) to the east. The nature of this screen-wall is in doubt, there being no evidence for columns and entablature. Traces of the abutting of this screen-wall upon the interior of the north wall, though faint, are still visible. But the line of this wall ( $r, r$ ) is to be distinguished from that of the later built wall erected by the Christians when they converted the Erechtheum into a church, and which was designed to bound a vestibule separated from the place of worship. This later wall, marked  $\zeta$  in Fig. 96, is clearly indicated

by projections and cuttings in the side walls. The apartment (*D*) thus separated from the rest of the building is occupied by a cistern, which was once covered by a

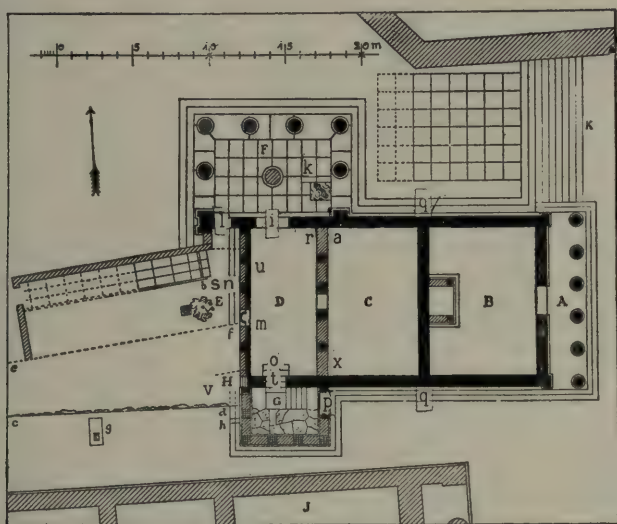


FIG. 93.—Ground-plan of Erechtheum.

- A.* Portico at the east.
- B.* East cella, on upper level.
- C.* Middle cella, on lower level.
- D.* The Prostomiaion, or Sea of Erechtheus, later built over by the Turks into a cistern.
- E.* The Pandroseum.
- F.* The north porch.
- G.* The Porch of the Maidens.
- H.* Traces of an adjacent chapel, probably the Cecropium.
- J.* Foundations of the Hecatompodon.
- K.* Ten steps (restored) leading from the upper level of the east front of the temple to the lower level of the north porch.
- a.* A low subterranean opening to give access to the mark (*k*) of the trident.
- b.* A small channel to conduct the rain water (*x*) into the Pandroseum.
- c, d.* Edge of the foundation of the stereobate of the Hecatompodon.
- e, f.* A boundary line indicating, according to Dörpfeld, the original extent of the foundation or stereobate of the Hecatompodon.
- g.* Marble base of a votive offering.
- h.* Marks of a well-head or post.
- i.* The door in the north porch (*ῥὸ θύρωμα*).
- k.* Mark of the trident in the rock.
- l.* Small door by which one enters from the north porch into the Pandroseum.
- m.* Door of the Prostomiaion *D*, later the chief entrance of the Christian church.
- n.* Ancient threshold of the same door.
- o.* Passage by which one ascends from *D* to the Porch of the Maidens (*C*).
- p.* Exterior entrance into this porch *G*.
- q, g.* A wall common to cellas *B* and *C*.
- r, r.* A wall common to cellas *C* and *D*; whether this was a real wall is doubtful.
- s.* Remains of an older edifice, possibly of the Pandroseum.
- t.* A recess or box-like panel in the south wall, cut out immediately above the door *o*, formerly encased at the sides and below by marble borders.
- u.* A marble slab, unusually thick, by which the cistern *D* was formerly covered.
- v.* A large block of marble lying above the chapel *H*.

later brick vault. But while the cistern in its present form is late, it is perfectly clear that it existed in some form in ancient days, since it is partly cut out of the solid rock and was



covered over with massive blocks of marble, parts of which are still seen projecting over the edge of the cistern. In this rock-hewn cistern we have doubtless the salt well of Poseidon, called

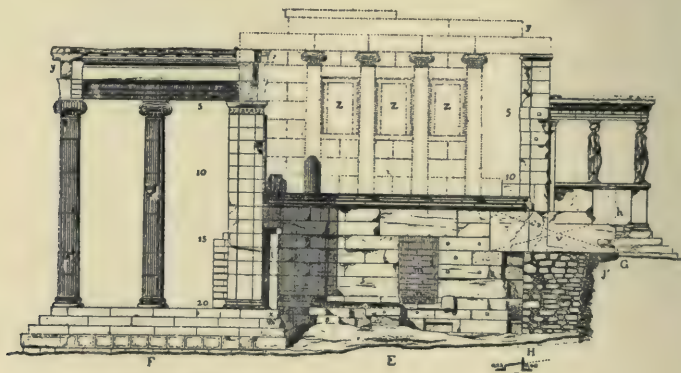


FIG. 94.—Exterior of West Wall of Erechtheum.

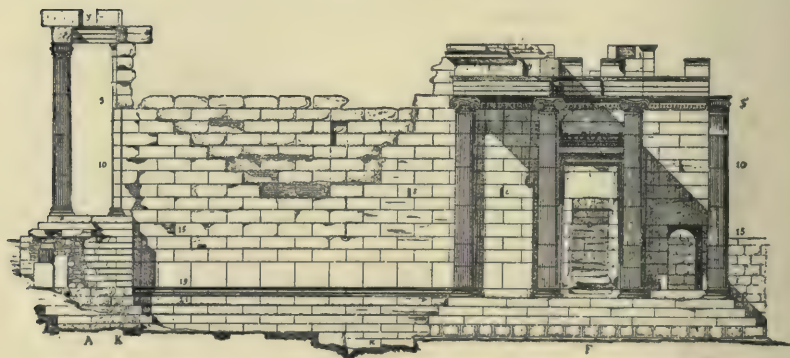


FIG. 95.—Exterior of North Wall of Erechtheum.

also the sea of Erechtheus, mentioned by Pausanias (i. 26, 5) in the following words: "Within, for the building is double, there is sea-water in a well, . . . but what is remarkable about this well is that when the south wind has been blowing the well gives forth a sound of waves." That this apartment containing the well is referred to in the building inscription as *προστομαῖον* has been shown by Furtwängler (128). This term accordingly is to be understood as meaning the apartment which contains the *προστόμιον*, i.e. the enclosure of the mouth of a well; this must be the well of salt water in



the crypt. The architectural arrangement of this apartment (*D*) is not clear. Just where the well-head was cannot be determined. It is noticeable that the two doors of this apart-

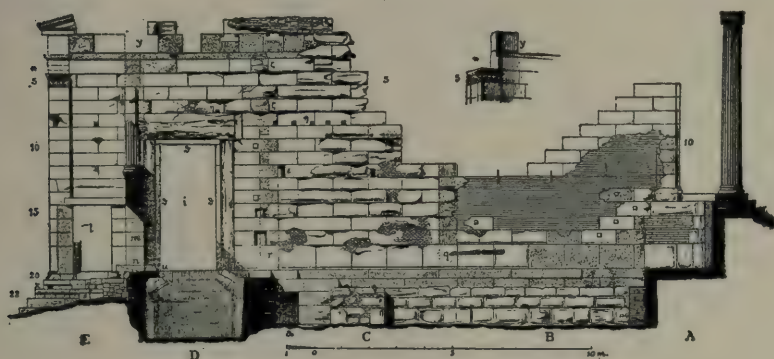


FIG. 96.—Interior of North Wall of Erechtheum.



FIG. 97.—Interior of South Wall of Erechtheum.

[Explanation of Figs. 94-97.]

*x.* An opening by which rain water flowing from the roof of the north porch was conducted into the channel *b*.

*y.* Frieze of black Eleusinian stone.

*z.* Three windows in the intercolumniations of the west wall believed by Borrmann and Dörpfeld to date from the Roman time.

*a, β, γ, δ, ε.* Small windows dating from the Byzantine period, by which the building when used as a church was lighted.

*ζ.* Projecting stones and beds or grooves belonging to the wall which separated the vestibule or narthex *D* from the church proper *C*. This younger wall, traces of which are clearly visible, runs parallel with and close to the so-called ancient screen wall *τ, τ'*, from which it is to be carefully distinguished.

*η.* Holes or beds for receiving joists

*θ.* Door-jambs and lintel of the great door in the north porch.

ment are not exactly in the middle of their respective walls, their position being apparently determined chiefly by the architectural requirements of the exterior of the building (129).

Before leaving this apartment we need to notice the curious niche in the south wall and above the door leading into the portico of the maidens. This niche is 1.72 m. long, 0.36 m. deep, and about 3.40 m. high. The stones which form its back are not polished, but this is one of the numerous places on this building that were left unfinished. There has been much profitless speculation concerning the purpose of this niche. The view of Dörpfeld seems the most probable, that it was simply an architectural device to lessen the weight of this corner of the building, which is supported by a huge block of stone (*V*) resting on a pillar of crude modern masonry. The peculiar construction of this corner is without doubt due to the proximity of the grave of the ancient king Cecrops, who is supposed to have been buried in this spot, and whose tomb would naturally be carefully conserved. But to this corner we shall return later, and so we leave it now and pass on to study the other apartments of the interior. About half-way between this partition wall or screen of the chamber *D* and the eastern wall of the temple was a second cross-wall dividing the interior into two chambers (*C*, *B*), of almost equal dimension. That this wall was solid and gave no means of communication between these two chambers is the opinion of most students of this building (130). The foundations of this cross-wall are gone, but the surfaces of both the north and south wall show clearly that at one time a cross-wall was built into them at the point marked *q* in our plan. The fact that at this point the courses of Peiraic stone of the lower part of the southern wall give place to marble in a stair-like fashion, has given rise to the belief that originally steps were placed against the south wall by which one passed through a doorway in the south end of the cross-wall *q* up to the higher level of the eastern chamber, thus connecting it with the rest of the building. This is the view of Frazer, but is not held by Dörpfeld and others who deny that there was any direct passage from the eastern to the middle or western chamber of the temple (131). That the central chamber, however, was entered from the west and formed part of the western portion or Erechtheum proper is clear from the fact that these two western chambers were nearly on the same level. The eastern cella had its entrance naturally from the east. There was no

basement under the eastern cella, nor was this part of the building two-storied.

The expression, "for the building is double" (διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἶκημα) with which Pausanias (i. 26, 5) introduces his account of the sacred "tokens" has been variously interpreted (132). Most commonly it has been understood to refer to the two adjacent apartments *C* and *D*. But that Pausanias is describing at this point not something that lies in an adjacent room *on the same level*, but something that lies below seems clear, since he uses the phrase in an explanatory sense in passing from the chamber *C*, on the walls of which were the paintings of the Butadae, to an account of the well with salt water. It is quite superfluous to emphasize the fact that a building is "double" as a reason for describing objects that are contained in adjacent apartments lying on the same level. Now we have already seen that under the west hall there is architectural evidence of the existence of an ancient reservoir. It is this that Pausanias speaks of, and the phrase under discussion explains its location at a lower level. This crypt, then, in which the salt well lay, taken together with the apartment above containing the three altars (*i.e.* *D*), would explain the statement that here the building was "double," *i.e.* had two stories (133). Furthermore, this interpretation, as will be shown in another connection, fits best the route pursued by Pausanias in his description of the different parts of the Erechtheum.

The original floor of the eastern cella was raised one step above the threshold. When the building was altered to suit the needs of a Christian church, the floor of the eastern chamber was lowered to the level of the ancient floor of the western chamber, all its inner foundations were torn away, except a few stones in the corners, and part of the foundation of the eastern portico was removed in order to make room for the apse of the church.

Before discussing the names and uses to be assigned to these different apartments of the Erechtheum, we must speak of the crypt under the northern porch entered from the small door (*a*) in the foundations of the north wall. In the north-west corner of the crypt is a small round cistern, probably of Turkish origin, dug out by Beulé, which is now partly



broken down and cleared out. In the rocky floor of the crypt are to be seen irregular holes or fissures ( $\kappa$ ) which are generally held to be the famous trident-mark of Poseidon ( $\tau\omicron$  σχῆμα τῆς τριαίνης) made when he smote the rock in his contest with Athena. As seen now these marks do not, to be sure, resemble the actual shape of a trident, and allowances must be made for the changes in the appearance of the surface of the rock wrought by time and other agencies. This want of resemblance to a trident-mark has led some (134) to reject this identification, but, as it seems to us, without sufficient reason. Attention is called by Borrmann (135) to the peculiar arrangement of the blocks of the pavement of the north portico immediately above the place where the trident-mark was shown or supposed to be. It will be noticed that two smaller slabs are inserted among the larger ones, and that the edges of one of these slabs appear to have been worked smooth so as to be visible, while the larger slab lying adjacent to the north wall of the building and over the entrance into the crypt shows on its northern edge no trace of any joint. From this arrangement it is inferred that originally an opening of about 1.31 metres square was provided exactly over these marks so as to make them easily seen by any one looking down. This aperture may have been protected by a well-head and a grating. The recent reconstruction of the north porch has revealed the fact that two coffer-blocks were omitted in the ceiling (the southernmost in the second row from the east), and that there was a sort of well or casing built up through the space between the stone ceiling and the roof, plainly implying that there was a hole or opening in the roof also. On either side of the opening in the ceiling there was a frame which narrowed somewhat the space made vacant by the omitted coffers. Dörpfeld interprets this device as a means for leaving open to the sky the trident-mark in the rock below the porch. It is worth while incidentally to observe that a similar arrangement is known to have been provided by the Romans for sacred objects that were to receive honor only under an open sky. Thus Varro (*L.L.* v. 66) says that the temple of Fidius had a *perforatum tectum*, and Ovid (*Fasti*, ii. 671) states that the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had an *exiguum*



*foramen*, i.e. a small hole in the roof above a terminal stone. It is probable that the crypt below the porch also served as the abode of the Erichthonios serpent (*οἰκουρὸς ὄφις*). That this sacred serpent was intimately associated with the legendary history of the snake-king Erechtheus and had its dwelling place in or near the Erechtheum is a matter of literary tradition. Thus Philostratus (*Imag.* ii. 17) speaks of the serpent of Athena which dwells on the Acropolis, and Eustathius (*Odys.* i. 357) refers to the guardian serpent (*οἰκουρὸς δράκων*) as dwelling in the temple of the Polias. The lexicographer Hesychius says that the sacred serpent, which was identified with Erichthonios, dwelt in the sanctuary of Erechtheus. The probability is that in the oldest form of the legend Erichthonios or Erechtheus was the sacred serpent of Athena which lived in or near the Erechtheum, was considered the guardian of the Acropolis, and was fed with honey-cakes once a month. During the Persian invasion a report, circulated according to Plutarch by the wily Themistocles, that the honey-cake had been left untasted by the serpent, was one of the strongest motives which led the Athenians to abandon their city to the enemy, thinking that the serpent and with it the goddess Athena had forsaken Athens (136).

Having discussed the general plan of the interior of the Erechtheum, we next take up the difficult question of the names and uses of the several apartments. At the risk of appearing to be dogmatic we present what on the whole seems to us to be the most reasonable view, relegating to Appendix iii. and to the chapter that deals with the route of Pausanias fuller discussion of the points in dispute. Pausanias (i. 26, 5) says that before the entrance to the Erechtheum there is an altar of Zeus Most High, upon which they sacrifice nothing that has life (137). Unhappily the position of this altar cannot be determined with certainty, and we are therefore left in doubt where Pausanias places the entrance. Some hold that the entrance referred to by Pausanias is the usual one of a Greek temple, that is, through the eastern portico, while others, locating the altar of Zeus in the north porch, think the entrance is through the richly decorated north door. On the latter theory this altar has

been identified with that of the *θυγχόος*, which seems to be the title of the priest who offered sacrifices. This latter altar, as we learn from inscriptions (138), stood in the north porch. But there is no evidence to prove this identification. Still others are disposed to place the altar of Zeus Most High east of the portico of the maidens, and to suppose that Pausanias entered the Erechtheum through the southern porch. But there seems to have been no public entrance here, for the opening at the corner is narrow and the step up to it is very high. Furthermore, Mr. A. S. Murray (*J.H.S.* i. p. 224), has shown that the delicate mouldings around the base or plinth and continued under this opening would be worn by every one entering here, and that therefore an entrance from this side must have been a private one seldom used. This view, as being the least likely, can be dismissed. Pausanias must then have entered the temple either by the east or by the north portico. Before we decide in favor of either, it is well to notice once more the double character of this temple. It contained the shrine of Poseidon-Erechtheus and that of Athena. That to Athena should have been dedicated the eastern cella, the largest and most important of the chambers of the building, will not easily be doubted. From this fact it would naturally be supposed that Pausanias would be likely to speak of the entrance through the Ionic portico at the eastern front as "the entrance," and that accordingly his description of the interior is to be understood as starting from this point. This would harmonize also with the course he would be likely to take, coming as he did from the east front of the Parthenon. But when we read his account of what he saw within we find him mentioning first of all three altars, one of Poseidon-Erechtheus, one of the hero Butes, and one of Hephaestus, next the salt well, and last the wooden image of Athena and the golden lamp made by Callimachus. Dörpfeld and his followers, in the interest of the theory that the Athena image and her temple are to be found not in the Erechtheum but in the old Athena temple, hold that the three altars are to be placed in the east and main cella which Pausanias, according to their view, must have entered first. According to the view we have adopted, on the

contrary, the three altars are to be located in the western part of the building in close proximity to the ancient "tokens," which was more specifically called the Erechtheum, and which we believe Pausanias had distinctively in mind when he called the temple "a double dwelling." On this supposition the old traveller must have first gone down the broad steps on the north side of the building and have entered it by the north porch. If we accept this view the only question that remains is whether these altars stood in the western hall (*D*), which contained the sea of Erechtheus, or in the inner chamber (*C*). On this point we are disposed to accept the view of Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 435), who holds that the altars, as the principal centres of worship, would naturally be placed not in the antechamber but in the inner chamber adjoining it. That Pausanias should mention the altars within the inner chamber first before speaking of the sea of Erechtheus in the antechamber, is explained by Furtwängler as due to his fondness for antithesis, which led him to name the three principal altars within immediately after the altar that stood before the entrance. That this chamber was itself divided into two sections, a northern one containing the altar of Poseidon-Erechtheus, a southern one in which stood the shrines of Hephaestus and Butes, is a pure conjecture. On the walls of this central chamber were fastened the votive tablets of the Butadae, which had been dedicated by Habron, the son of Lycurgus (139). On the partition wall that divides this cella from that of Athena Polias, there was probably the painting of Erechtheus driving a four-horse chariot mentioned by a scholiast on Aristides as being on the Acropolis behind the goddess (*ὀπίσω τῆς θεοῦ*). From this part of the building Pausanias must have gone to the east cella either by means of an inner stairway (140), if there was such a stairway, or, retracing his steps to the north porch whence he entered the building, he must have returned to the east and entered the cella from that side. In discussing the order in which Pausanias names related objects, it is generally assumed that he describes those objects in strictly topographical order (141). It may be worth the while, however, to say that all do not consent to this view. Beulé, for example (*L'Acropole*, ii. p. 239), believes that the order in



which Pausanias describes the objects in the Erechtheum is to be accounted for not so much by the relation of the parts of the building to one another as by the relation which the objects within have to the building and its cults. He supposes that Pausanias first arrives at the eastern front, and that the altars named by him stood in the eastern cella (*B*), usually assigned to Athena. He next speaks of the objects which more than anything else interest his credulous piety. These he viewed by going down the small staircase which led from the central chamber (*C*) to the crypt under the northern porch. After surveying the "tokens" he re-ascends by the same stairway.

Before dismissing from our attention the interior plan of the Erechtheum, it is worth while to notice the new view of Professor Dörpfeld (142) on the original plan of this building. The irregularity of the plan of this temple, together with certain architectural defects, such as *e.g.* the lack of a corner pilaster at the northwest corner of the porch of "the Maidens," have led him to believe that the original plan of the Erechtheum was a symmetrical one which included a west half that was never built, to correspond with the east half. From the accompanying plan it will be seen that a north and south axis running through the centre of the north porch, and of the small door opposite, suggests at once a symmetrical extension of the building to the west. With this extension the temple has three divisions; in the east and west respectively a cella, and in the middle a structure of three compartments having at the north a large decorative porch, and at the south a small one. The two end divisions lie on the terrace of the old Athena temple, but the central part on the lower level of the "tokens" (*σημεῖα*). That the east and west cellas with their porticos had each a roof and pediment cannot be doubted. But the entire middle part was uncovered with the exception of the central chamber (*C*).

The east cella was designed to be the sanctuary of Athena, and to house the old wooden image of the Polias. The central chambers were intended to be the substitute for the old Erechtheus-Poseidon temple, which at the time of Herodotus (viii. 55), contained the "tokens," that is to say, the sea of Erechtheus and the trident-mark, and also to shelter the sacred olive tree, which must have stood under



the open sky. The western chamber remains to be disposed of. This must have been intended for the treasury-house, the opisthodomos, for which provision must be made if we suppose that this building was designed to replace an older shrine of Erechtheus-Poseidon and the old Athena temple (Hecatompedon). Dörpfeld then goes on to give the relation of these parts to one another, and shows a remarkable correspondence in dimensions between the different parts. Thus it appears that the east cella with its portico measured to

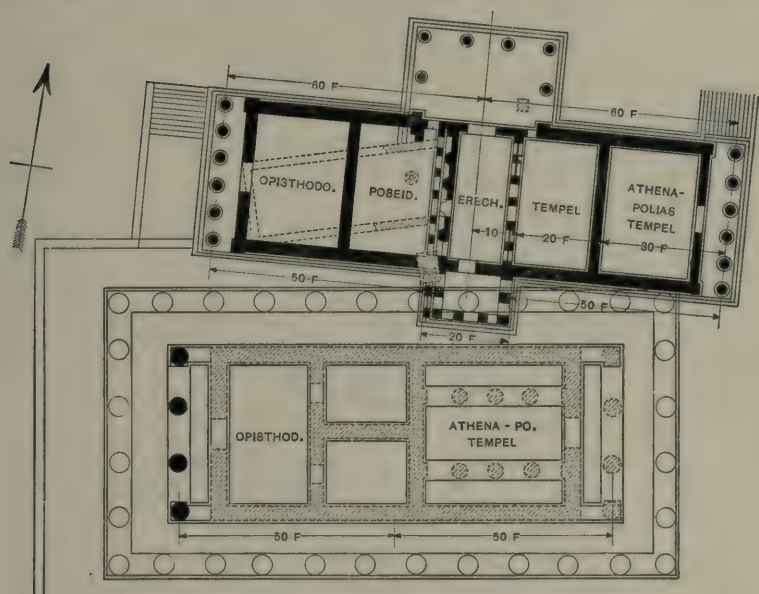


FIG. 98.—Original Plan of the Erechtheum. as drawn by Dörpfeld.

the axis of the columns is 30 feet deep, that the adjoining east chamber of the central structure is 20 feet deep, and that the distance of the west interior wall from the north and south axis of the structure is 10 feet. Accordingly, we get a length of  $30 + 20 + 10 = 60$  feet from the axis of the columns of the east portico to the central axis of the whole building as originally planned. The entire building would then have a length of 120 feet, measured between the axis of the columns of the east and west porticos.

But, as in the case of the Propylaea and the temple of Athena Nike, opposition to the plan arose, apparently before

it was fairly begun, on the part of the priests of the old Athena temple, and the builders were compelled to modify and contract their design. And this they did in such a manner as to permit later, if circumstances were favorable, the renewal and execution of the original plan. But the breaking out of the disastrous war with Sparta not only made this impossible, but interrupted the completion of even the restricted plan. From this failure to complete the original design Dörpfeld draws, of course, an argument in favor of the continued existence of the Hecatompedon, inasmuch as the new Erechtheum did not provide for an opisthodomos, and the cella which was intended for the revered image of Athena never received its expected occupant.

Let us now notice more carefully the objects these chambers contained, following the description of Pausanias. The fact that Pausanias makes no mention of images in connection with the three altars, already mentioned above, justifies the inference that these shrines were simply altars. The union of Poseidon and Erechtheus in one cult is possibly to be explained, with Mommsen (*Feste d. Stadt Athen*, p. 156), by the joint association with the horse which Poseidon created and Erechtheus first harnessed. The hero Butes is a distinctively Attic personality. He was said to be the son of Pandion, and the brother of Erechtheus, and also a priest of Athena and Poseidon. The third altar was consecrated to Hephaestus, whose cult at Athens was apparently no less ancient than that of Athena with whom he was associated in the myth of the birth of Erichthonios. In the eastern cella stands the object which Pausanias mentioned as deemed the holiest of all the images on the Acropolis, the wooden image of Athena Polias, said to have fallen from heaven, which is only a picturesque way of emphasizing its venerable origin. Philostratus (*Vit. Apollon.* iii. 14) speaks of it as one of the most ancient images in Greece. According to Plutarch (*Themist.* 10), the Athenians saved the image by taking it with them to Salamis when they fled from Athens at the approach of the Persians. The type of this image Frazer thinks may be found in an antique figure of the goddess depicted on the vases which were given as prizes at the Panathenaic festival (see Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, pp. 1151-54).

It represents the goddess in a stiff attitude, bearing a crested helmet, the left foot advanced, the right hand raised and grasping the spear, with which she is making a thrust, while in her left hand she is holding a round shield. In the Dresden statue of Athena, which goes back to a thoroughly archaic type, we may also see a copy of the Athena Polias. Its robe was embroidered with the very scenes which are known to have been wrought in the robe that was periodically placed on the image of Athena. This embroidered peplos was woven by two of the four maidens called *Arrephoroi*, who were attached to the service of the goddess in the Erechtheum, and dwelt not far from the temple. Aristophanes (*Birds*, 826 ff.) clearly implies that the robe which was presented to Athena at the great Panathenaic festival was woven for Athena Polias (143). This garment was not only presented to the goddess, but it was customary to clothe her image in it. The officials whose duty it was to clothe the image were called *Praxiergidai* (*πραξιεργίδαι*). Frazer shows from analogous instances that the most ancient cult images are known to have worn real clothing. The cella which contained this sacred image was lighted by the golden lamp made by the celebrated worker in metal named Callimachus. From the notices of the ancient writers, particularly Strabo and Plutarch, we learn that the lamp burned perpetually; that during the siege of Athens by Sulla it was allowed to go out for lack of oil; and that it was tended by venerable widows.

Besides the objects already discussed, Pausanias speaks of votive offerings and souvenirs. That these were kept in the east or main cella, in close proximity to the image of the patron divinity, who had so signally proved herself to be the guardian of the state, and to whom the spoils taken from the Persians would most appropriately be dedicated, seems most probable. These spoils were reckoned among the available treasures of the state. The cuirass of Masistius was said by Herodotus (ix. 22) to be covered with scales and made of gold. The sword of Mardonius, mentioned also by Demosthenes (xxiv. 129), and valued at 300 darics, was a dagger with a broad blade. The folding-chair, alleged to be a work of Daedalus, was probably a handsome piece of wood-carving



cut in the archaic style, and must not be taken as identical with the silver-footed chair (not mentioned by Pausanias) referred to by Demosthenes, on which Xerxes sat watching the battle of Salamis.

After enumerating the objects kept within the Erechtheum, Pausanias speaks of a temple of Pandrosos, who alone of the sisters was blameless in regard to the trust committed to them by their father, Cecrops. This sanctuary of Pandrosos, Pausanias says, was contiguous to the temple of Athena. Its location is made certain by the inscriptions relating to the Erechtheum. One of these (*C.I.A.* i. 322) speaks of the columns on the wall which looks towards the Pandroseum. Now the only wall of the temple which had columns upon it was, as we have seen, the west wall on which, at a height of about 3.71 metres ( $12\frac{1}{2}$  ft.), stood four Ionic columns. In another inscription (*C.I.A.* iv. i, 321, col. ii.) the western gable of the Erechtheum is called "the gable towards the Pandroseum." When therefore Pausanias says that this sanctuary was contiguous to the temple of Athena, we cannot be wrong in believing that he means the Erechtheum and in locating the sanctuary of Pandrosos in the enclosure immediately to the west of the temple. The exact spot in the enclosure on which the sanctuary stood cannot be determined any more than its size and form. Michaelis and Frazer place it at the southwest corner of the Erechtheum. But at this corner Dörpfeld puts the Cecropium, or sanctuary of Cecrops, in harmony with the statement of the inscription already referred to above, which speaks of the caryatid porch as "the porch beside the Cecropium," and which mentions an angle of the temple as "the angle towards the Cecropium." That Cecrops and Pandrosos should be coupled together with Erechtheus or Erichthonios is most natural, especially when we bear in mind the myth connected with the birth of Erichthonios (144) which is told by Pausanias (i. 18, 2). The story of the finding of Erichthonios in the chest is depicted on an amphora found at Camirus in Rhodes, and now in the British Museum. The chest stands on a pile of rocks which probably represent the Acropolis. On the rocks lies the lid, ornamented with an olive wreath, and from the open chest appears the boy Erichthonios. The head and tail of the serpent appear above the



chest. Athena on one side gazes with surprise at the child and serpent, while on the other side the two naughty sisters, Herse and Aglauros are fleeing in consternation. The intimate relation shown to exist between Erechtheus, Cecrops and Pandrosos, the obedient daughter, is reflected in the juxtaposition of their respective sanctuaries in and about the temple under discussion. Late writers, such as Clement of Alexandria, and Arnobius, affirm that Cecrops was buried in the Cecropium. From all the evidence before us we believe that the Cecropium is to be located at the southwest corner of the Erechtheum, and that the Pandroseum was the precinct immediately adjoining it to the north. An interesting piece of



FIG. 99.—Vase Painting representing Erichthonios in the Chest.

evidence in favor of the existence of a tomb or sanctuary of Cecrops in the place indicated is to be found in the character of the masonry at this point. At the south end of the west wall of the Erechtheum will be noticed a gap in the ancient masonry, now filled up by a crude pillar and a piece of rough wall. This gap extends some distance under the Caryatid porch and is spanned by a large lintel (see Fig. 90) about 15 feet long and 5 feet deep. Penrose calls attention to the fact that of the columns which entered into the structure of the west wall of the Erechtheum the base of the one nearest the south porch, together with the base of the adjacent anta, have been left unfinished. This seems to point to the existence of some structure which occupied the space where these mouldings were left unfinished. The same inference may be drawn from the fact that the string course of the podium of the Caryatid porch on its west side is carved into the egg and tongue ornament only a third of the way, the rest of it being left plain. All this points to the existence of a

tomb or sanctuary sacred to Cecrops, which marked the site of his grave and which stood adjacent to the portico of the Maidens. The supposed existence of some structure adjacent to the west wall of the Erechtheum has recently been proved by an observation made by Dörpfeld. This observation is that the west wall above a certain line, which would mark the height of this supposed structure, shows a final finish in its stone work that is lacking below this line. This line, not easily seen from the ground, but visible from the scaffolding which was erected to make repairs on the temple, gives the height of this adjacent structure, which can be no other than the Cecropium. With this observation added to what was previously known or inferred we can not only locate the Cecropium but determine all its boundaries except toward the west.

As regards the Pandroseum, it is further to be noticed that within its precinct dwelt the *Arrephoroi*, the two maidens whose mysterious office is described by Pausanias (i. 27, 3), and that it guarded also the famous olive tree, of which Pausanias tells his remarkable story, and that the altar of *Zeus of the Court* stood near or under the olive tree. Frazer calls attention to a levelled area about eight feet square some 40 feet west of the Erechtheum, which, he thinks, may mark the spot on which this altar of Zeus stood, and quotes from Penrose the statement that close to it is a natural fissure in the rock where the roots of the olive tree may have found their bed. But Dörpfeld infers from recent investigations that the olive tree stood within the area bounded by a line drawn from the door in the west wall intercepting a line drawn from the door in the southwest corner of the north porch. Pliny (*N.H.* xvi. 240) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 164), speak of the olive tree as still existing in their day, and Cicero (*De Legibus*, i. 1, 2) refers to the eternal olive on the Acropolis at Athens. This tree was looked upon as the progenitor of the sacred olives of the grove of Academus, and was under the special protection of Athena.

Having finished the discussion of the history and plan of the Erechtheum, let us now turn to consider its characteristic features as a work of art. The Erechtheum may justly be regarded as the most perfect example of the Ionic-Attic style of architecture that is known.

The Ionic columns have the so-called Attic base, which consists of two semi-circular mouldings or tori separated by a hollow moulding. The shaft has twenty-four flutings and bulges out slightly at the top. In the columns of the north porch the upper torus is reeded or decorated with a rich plait pattern, varied in the different columns. The base of the columns of the east portico is not so richly decorated, the upper torus being simply fluted. The necking of the column is richly decorated with a carved band of palmettes. It is likely that these palmettes were gilded and had a tinted

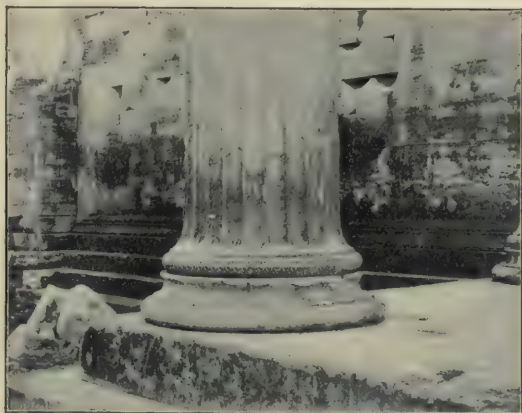


FIG. 100.—Column of North Porch of Erechtheum, showing Decorated Base.

background. The palmettes of the columns of the east portico are bordered above and below with a carved astragal moulding, but the lower astragal moulding is lacking in the columns of the north porch. An egg-and-dart moulding and a plaited band support the cushion of the capital. The volutes are strongly marked, and have a double spiral *canalis*, possibly colored at the edges and turned about a gilded knob or other ornament at the centre, the so-called "eye" of the volute. A narrow abacus enriched with an egg-and-dart moulding form the transition to the architrave. The capitals of the columns at the corners had, according to the regular type of a corner Ionic capital, two outside faces with a volute in common at an angle of 45 degrees.



The capitals of the antae were decorated differently. The volute ornament was not carried over to them, but the decoration consists of a necking adorned with a honeysuckle pattern, bead moulding, an Ionic egg-and-dart moulding, and at the top a cyma ornamented with the Lesbian pattern and finished off with an ogee moulding as abacus. This decoration is carried across the wall between the two antae. Durm, the architect, calls attention (145) to the care shown in the execution of the finest details in the ornamentation of the columns of the north portico, especially as seen in the decorative patterns on the mouldings of the corner columns. "Often

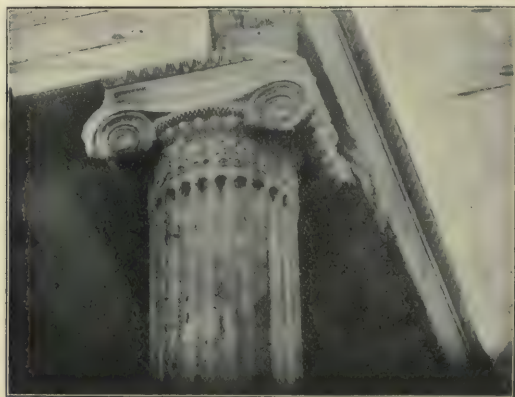


FIG. 101.—Column of North Porch of Erechtheum, showing Decorated Capital.

hidden and applied to the structure at a considerable height, these details are executed with the same loving care as though they were to be brought directly before the gaze of the beholder. Nowhere is there a suggestion of careless hurry in the modelling. How finely conceived and nicely graded in relief are the individual parts of the leaves; how very beautiful the softly drawn outlines of the egg-and-lancet-shaped leaves; how carefully considered and nicely solved the difficult problem of the arrangement of the ornamental leaves on the corner of the abacus in the capital of the corner column. And with all this painstaking execution and careful finish of the smallest details, a regard for the effect of the whole mass was never left out of view." The architrave is comparatively light, corresponding to the slender columns. It consists of a single



block of marble, the height of which is the same as the upper diameter of the columns, and is divided into three bands, each slightly projecting beyond the other. The architrave is surmounted by a richly decorated moulding, consisting on its outside of a bead fillet, a Lesbian cymatium and a small cyma reversa. Above the epistyle lies the frieze, made of slabs of black Eleusinian stone, to which were fastened white marble figures in relief by means of iron dowels. Besides these dowels, bronze bolts were let perpendicularly into the architrave and were held in place with molten lead in order to secure the relief figures. Traces of these fastenings are still visible. In this connection may be cited an inscription which records item by item the expense of building the Erechtheum. From the fragments of this inscription (146) it appears, for example, that two talents of lead bought for fastening the small figures of the frieze cost ten drachmas, and a relief, which represented a young man driving two horses, cost 240 drachmas (equal to about \$45). Professor Gardner (*Greek Sculpture*, p. 300) remarks that the frieze is mainly interesting as a curious experiment in the technique of relief. The figures are only two feet high, flat at the back and in high relief. The composition of the frieze was doubtless the work of one artist, but its execution, as we learn from the Rhangabé inscription referred to above, was entrusted to several sculptors. The fragments are not sufficient to enable us to determine definitely what the frieze was intended to represent. Among the sculptural fragments of the frieze (now to be seen in the Acropolis Museum) there is a horse almost entire. A horse is mentioned in connection with the frieze in the building inscription referred to above. Now since Poseidon created the horse and Erechtheus was the first to harness him, it is easy to believe that this frieze may have represented this among other scenes of Greek legend. The most interesting figure among these remains is that of a woman who holds in her lap a child which seems to clasp its right arm about her neck. Possibly this group is Athena and the boy Erichthonios. The treatment of the drapery is fine and light, but with a tendency to an artificial arrangement of the folds. In style these sculptures belong to the transition from the earlier to the later bloom of Attic art.

An ornamental cornice crowns the entablature, but what is noteworthy is the absence of the dentils which are often regarded as characteristic of an Ionic entablature. Of the corona and the cornice that enclosed the pediments too little is preserved to warrant any definite statement as regards details of ornamentation, except that at the sides there were water-spouts of lion heads with an antefix between each head.

Stones from all three pediments have recently been found and also most of the cornice blocks, but these show no trace of sculptured ornament. The richest decoration was lavished upon the north porch, the beautiful remains of which still call

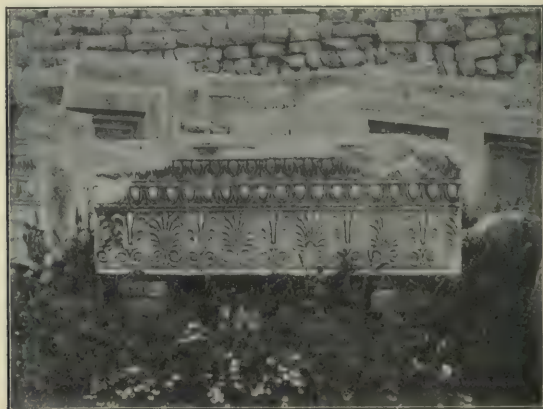


FIG. 102.—Carved Cornice of Erechtheum.

forth the admiration of all lovers of art. The six Ionic columns of this porch are even more beautiful than those of the eastern portico. They are about 7.64 m. (25 ft.) high, which is nearly a metre higher than the columns of the eastern portico. We have already seen that the columns of the north porch are also more richly decorated. The capital of these columns is especially rich in decoration. It has a deep and delicately cut groove, describing a curve intermediate between the nearly straight line of the abacus and the deep curve of the lower line that bounds the channel between the volutes. This groove runs around the two volutes which consist of three spirals wound together. All the columns of the Erechtheum have a round torus with a rich plait above

the egg-and-dart moulding which crowns the shaft, but in the columns of the north porch this plait is pierced with holes in which probably a bright enamel was inserted. The flutings do not run clear up to the top of the shaft, but are terminated by a bead moulding which encloses a band of flat relief with a beautiful palmette and honeysuckle pattern, a favorite decoration that is found on various parts of the temple. The ceiling of the porch was coffered. It has recently been restored by the Greek Archaeological Society. In our last chapter will be found an account of this latest restoration. The same style of ornament, in relief and in color, which is found in the coffered ceiling of the Parthenon and the Propylaea, occurs also here, only more elaborate. But the most elaborate and the most beautiful piece of architecture of the north porch is the great doorway, which was distinguished even in ancient times from all the other doors of the temple by the especial name of τὸ θύρωμα.

This Ionic doorway, even in its damaged and changed condition as we see it to-day, is the finest and most perfect architectural model known to us from classical times. The great lintel above the door is broken, deranging somewhat the harmony of the lines of the mouldings. Of the original lintel only the ends remain, showing that it had the depth of two of the courses of the masonry and rested on the wall on either side. The present lintel and its richly decorated cornice are of good Roman workmanship, though the palmettes on the cornice are not as perfect in style as those which decorate the capitals of the antae and the cornice of the gable. It is to be noticed also that the rosettes which decorate the lintel differ from those which are seen on the jambs, the former having closed, the latter open centres, bored out for the purpose of inserting a wooden plug on which was fixed a bronze knob. As already intimated, just when the original lintel and cornice and jambs were replaced by those now to be seen is not clear. Some of these changes may be due to the repairs made necessary by the fire which, according to some scholars, burnt a part of the Erechtheum in 406 B.C. (see above, p. 196). Or it may be that the present copy of the original lintel and cornice dates from a time contemporary with the columns and entablature of the temple of Olympian

Zeus at Athens, the enriched bed-mould of which corresponds fairly well with that on this stone(147). The jambs and linings are of different periods, some of them dating from the time of the Roman occupation. The later Byzantine repairs consist of a support for the inner lintel and two jamb-linings



FIG. 103.—Doorway of North Porch of Erechtheum.

to support this. This newer inner lintel, however, did not touch the outer older one or help to support it. The consoles, of which only one remains, are certainly later additions, added to give a sham support to the later lintel and of no constructive value. The boss left standing below the second rosette on the east jamb makes a strange impression of incompleteness in the midst of so much exquisite finish. Yet



in spite of these imperfections, the great doorway impresses every beholder as a unique example of what Greek decorative art could achieve. And this impression is heightened when one compares the decorations of this doorway with the imitations of them that may be seen in later Roman, Byzantine and modern architecture.

The south portico, known as that of "the Maidens" (Κόραι), has not called forth universal admiration as a specimen of fine



FIG. 104.—Portico of "The Maidens," West End.

art. The idea of converting the statue of a human being into a pillar or support is distasteful at first glance. One critic goes so far as to say that one would as soon expect to find in the art of the middle ages a baldachin supported by statues of Christ and his apostles. But this application of the human figure is certainly less distasteful in a country where the sight of girls and women carrying some burden on the head or shoulders must have been common, and is portrayed on the frieze of the Parthenon (148). The objection seems to vanish

entirely when we consider the skill with which these figures have been made to serve as supports and behold their unquestionable beauty. The building inscriptions name these figures simply maidens (*κόραι*). The later name "Caryatid" is fancifully explained by Vitruvius (i. 1, 5) as coming from the town of Carya in Arcadia, whose inhabitants were punished for making common cause with the Persians, its men being put to death and its women carried into slavery. To commemorate this event, their figures were carved as supports of temples.

These statues represent robust female forms in the bloom of young womanhood. Each rests her weight on the leg farthest from the centre of the façade, and all produce the impression of ease and stability. The ample drapery, falling down to the feet and grasped by one hand, envelop the wholesome form in folds large and simple, increasing the effect of the apparent strength of the figures, and suggesting the round and symmetrical shape of a column. The straight and narrow folds in the lower part of the figures suggest the flutings of a column. In the conventional treatment of the hair these statues remind us of the late archaic period of art. The waving hair lies in two masses divided at the centre and yet bound together by a small braid, while at the back the hair is arranged in solid plaits beside the neck so as to increase the apparent strength of the figures as architectural supports. They carry with ease the weight of the entablature which has been left without a frieze so as to lighten its weight. The skill with which the transition is made from the perpendicular statue to the horizontal architrave is apparent. On the head lies the cushion-shaped echinus, around which run a pearl-bead moulding and an egg-and-dart quarter-round. On top of this rests the narrow plinth or abacus crowned with a cymatium, which joins the architrave. Behind the figures at each of the sides stands an anta. Its capital is decorated with a fillet, a palmette ornament and three cymatia, which are separated from one another by lists and beading, and are adorned with the egg-and-dart and the so-called Lesbian pattern, the whole crowned by a moulding. The face of the architrave shows three bands each slightly projecting above the one below it. The topmost band is decorated with small

marble discs designed to be cut into rosettes, to compensate for the omitted frieze. Above this band are carved a pearl-bead fillet and a decorated moulding. Above this moulding is the cornice which consists of a heavy moulding of the dentil pattern, a plain band, a beading and decorated cymatium, and a projecting corona deeply undercut and crowned with an echinus-shaped moulding. This porch had no real roof, but instead four large marble slabs into which panels were cut. The slabs lay across the top and formed the outside cornice, and were supported by the wall of the temple and by the architrave. Three of these slabs are still *in situ* and show the deep-set coffers of the ceiling, originally decorated with colored and gilded ornaments after the manner of the panelled ceiling of the Propylaea and the Parthenon.

Our survey of this remarkable and beautiful temple may fittingly be closed with the words of Mr. Penrose: "Speaking of the temple generally, it is impossible not to notice the absence of rigid balance in the different parts both as respects the plan and the elevation; nevertheless its exquisite beauty and harmony is indisputable. It should be observed, however, that in each particular part the symmetry is perfect; for instance, not only are the columniations spaced with the greatest exactness, but the joints of the stones forming the drums run exactly level. The peculiar combinations which we find are not haphazard, but are due to deliberate intention, part of which, however, may have had reference to some antecedent requirements which had their origin in a previous temple. Considering the numerous vicissitudes and the ill treatment to which this temple has been subjected, it is very fortunate that we still retain so many precious relics of its original architecture."

## CHAPTER V

### THE TEMPLES AND SHRINES ON THE SOUTHERN SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS

"To hear the Tragic Song still Fancy seems  
From the void stage, and praises what it dreams."

HORACE, *Ep.* ii. 2.

HAVING described the chief monuments of the Periclean age on the summit of the Acropolis, we must now, abandoning the chronological sequence of our account, occupy ourselves with the buildings that stood on the southern slope of the Acropolis and form an integral part of its complex history. For not only was the summit of the rock a sanctuary, but its sides and terraces were crowded with shrines and temples and statues intimately associated with the religious cults and heroic legends of the Athenian people. As a matter of convenience we shall follow in our description the route pursued by Pausanias and begin at the east end of the southern slope.

Pausanias, after passing through the street called the street of *Tripods*, comes apparently to the precinct of Dionysus south of the Acropolis, and mentions the oldest sanctuary of that god as being "beside the theatre." Whether this sanctuary is the same as that referred to by Thucydides (ii. 15) under the name of Dionysus "in the Marshes" (*ἐν Λίμναις*) and is identical with what is called the Lenaeum, is a much disputed question, into the discussion of which we cannot enter (149). In the excavations near the western foot of the Acropolis Professor Dörpfeld has found an enclosure surrounded by ancient polygonal walls within which were



brought to light the remains of an ancient wine-press and, as he believes, of a sanctuary of Dionysus. Here it is that Dörpfeld locates the "most ancient sanctuary" of this god in Athens, and it is this which he thinks is called the sanctuary "in the Marshes" by Thucydides. This opinion is accepted by Judeich and by Miss Harrison. The Lenaeum, however, is located by Dörpfeld in the vicinity of the old orchestra near the market place. Now if the view of Dörpfeld is correct, Pausanias is mistaken in speaking of the sanctuary of Dionysus south of the Acropolis as "the most ancient." How this mistake may have arisen is shown by Judeich, who believes that the dramatic representations connected with the Lenaea were transferred to the precinct south of the Acropolis at least as early as the building of the stone theatre by Lycurgus, that later the cult of Dionysus "in the Marshes" was carried over from its original seat to the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus, and that Pausanias's statement, when he erroneously spoke of the sanctuary of Dionysus south of the Acropolis as being "the most ancient," was probably suggested by the statement of Thucydides and may thus be accounted for.

Whatever may be the correct view in regard to "the most ancient sanctuary" of Dionysus, there can be no doubt that the two temples mentioned by Pausanias as "within the enclosure" of Dionysus are identified in the remains of two small buildings, lying immediately south of the great theatre. The older of the two is adjacent to the southwest corner of the Stoa of the theatre. Part of the foundation, part of the west wall, and the start of the wall between the naos and pronaos, are all that is preserved of this little temple, which seems to have consisted only of a cella for the shrine of the god and a vestibule. In front of the temple were found channeled drums of columns, pieces of triglyphs, and a piece of a pediment which seems to have belonged to it. From these architectural fragments Dörpfeld conjectures that the temple was about 13 metres (41 ft. 10 in.) long from east to west by 8 metres (26 ft. 3 in.) broad from north to south. He infers that the temple is not later than the sixth century B.C., from the fact that the material employed in the building is the hard limestone of the Acropolis, the lighter colored

limestone quarried at Kará, and the Peiraic limestone, and that these three materials appear to have been used together at Athens only in buildings which antedate the Persian war. The style of the masonry and the form of the clamps (┐) also confirm this date. The image that stood in this temple is probably the archaic wooden one called *the Eleutherian* and brought, according to tradition, from Eleutherae to Athens. South of this building, with a slightly different orientation, lies the later temple. The foundations, which alone are left, are built of conglomerate stone. Its plan differed from that of the older temple already described, and in that it was, according to Dörpfeld's reconstruction, a prostyle temple with a portico deep enough to have two intercolumniations. In the cella are to be seen the foundations of a large base (3 in plan) which possibly supported the gold and ivory statue of Dionysus, mentioned by Pausanias as the workmanship of Alcamenes. Since conglomerate is seldom found as a building material prior to the time of Pericles or in the buildings that were erected under his supervision, it seems probable that this temple was built after 420 B.C., and it may be as late as the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

The precinct of Dionysus extended south as far as the modern boulevard and north to the base of the wall around the Acropolis, and it included the two temples already described, the great theatre, and a colonnade adjacent to the stage-building. Between the theatre and the boulevard is seen a circular altar of late date and not *in situ*, dedicated to Dionysus and adorned with garlands and masks of Silenus. About fifteen steps to the southwest stands a marble shaft on which was recorded a resolution of the Amphictyonic council in favor of the guild of actors, a body which enjoyed important privileges in the time of Demosthenes and numbered also dramatic writers and musicians among its members.

The great theatre of Dionysus has been so fully discussed in books that are accessible to most readers, and is in itself so large a subject, that anything like an adequate treatment of it in a work of this scope would perhaps be superfluous, besides being impossible. Accordingly, we proceed to give an account of only the most important features of this structure (150).



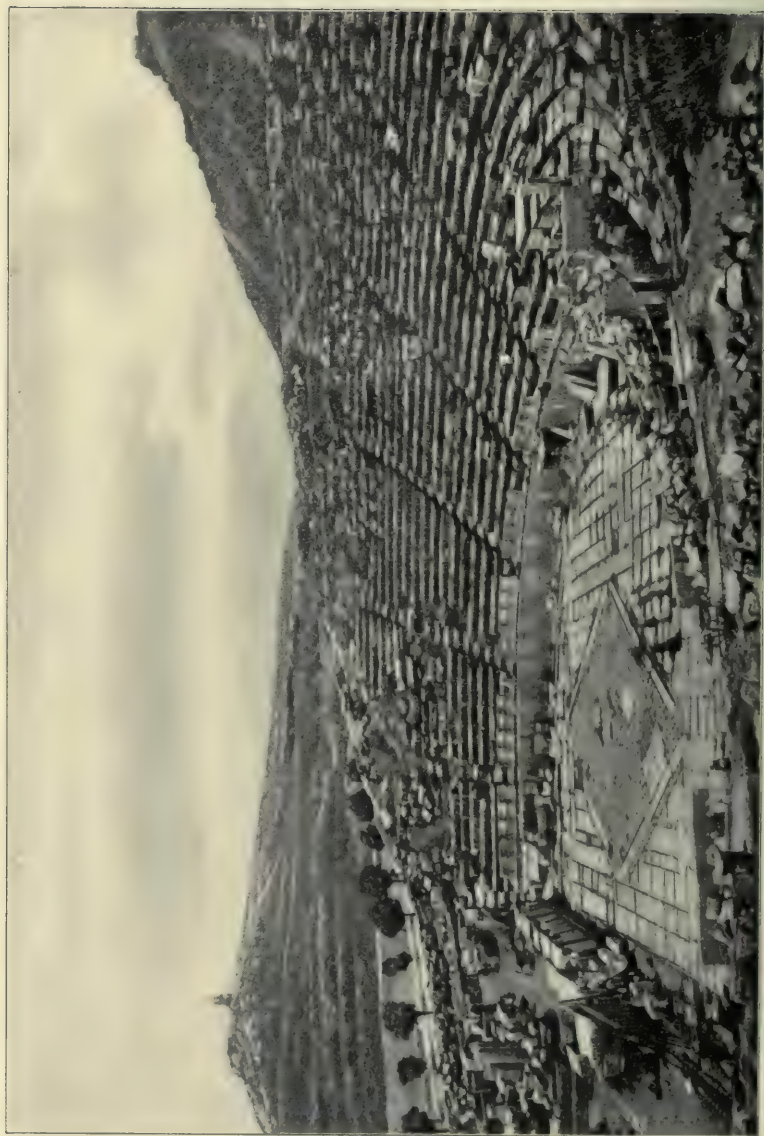


PLATE VII.

THEATRE OF DIONYSUS. PRESENT APPEARANCE, FROM THE EAST.

Facing p. 231.



The remains of the theatre, after being buried for centuries under a deep accumulation of earth, were first discovered and partially excavated in 1862 by the German architect, Strack. Later excavations were made by the Greek Archaeological Society, and finally the last investigations were made in 1886 by Professor Dörpfeld, whose conclusions in regard to the date of the building, and to the absence of a raised stage and a permanent stage building in the classic period of the Greek drama are adopted as being highly probable.

In our description of the theatre let us begin with the part that is the oldest and that is the starting point of the whole development of the Greek tragedy, to wit, the orchestra, the place in which the chorus performed its dances. This was at the outset the level ground in front of the scena, which became later the stage-building. Later, wooden seats for the spectators surrounded it; this was the beginning of the auditorium. The original orchestra was doubtless a circular space, which later came to be bounded by a sill, such as is to be seen in the theatre at Epidaurus. In the excavations conducted by Dörpfeld two pieces of ancient wall were found built on a curve, and marked 15 and 16 on the plan. This wall served probably also as a supporting wall to overcome the slope of the ground to the south. At the right parodos, where the later stage of Phaedrus once joined the semi-circle of seats, the native rock crops out, and is seen cut out on a curve. These points are found to lie in an arc of the same circle, which, when completed as drawn in the plan, gives us the original orchestra in which the plays of the great tragedians were performed. This original circular dancing place has been gradually transformed into its present shape.

As seen to-day, the orchestra has the form of a semi-circle with the two sides prolonged in straight lines. Its width measured along the front of the Roman stage attributed to Phaedrus (24 in plan) is 24 metres (78 ft. 6 in.), and its depth from the middle of this stage front to the parapet in front of the chair of the priest of Dionysus, in the centre of the first row of spectators, is 17.96 metres (58 ft. 6 in.). Dörpfeld gives 19.61 metres (64 ft. 4 in.) as the diameter of the orchestra in the time of Lycurgus. The orchestra is paved with slabs of

Pentelic and Hymettian marble variegated with strips of reddish marble. Near its middle is a large rhombus or diamond-shaped figure, the outline of which is formed by lines of white and dark marble. In the centre of this figure is a block of Pentelic marble containing a round depression, which may have been intended to receive an altar or an image of Dionysus. The pavement is of good workmanship and probably dates from the first century of our era. A parapet of upright slabs of marble, a little more than a metre high, divides the orchestra from the seats of the auditorium. Between the parapet and the seats there runs a gutter nearly three feet in width, built of limestone and bridged over with slabs opposite the vertical passages and steps which divide the tiers of seats in the auditorium. This gutter, which forms part of the original structure, was intended as a drain to carry off the water from the auditorium. The marble parapet, which Dörpfeld thinks was an addition made in the first century A.D., seems to have had a metal grating fixed upon it, and is supposed to have been erected to prevent the vanquished gladiators from being butchered on the laps of the dignitaries who sat in the front row, a scene which, according to Dio Chrysostom, sometimes occurred. Later the parapet was backed by a wall of small stones in lime mortar to hold back the water with which the orchestra was occasionally flooded so as to give opportunity for mimic sea-fights. From the first an altar in honor of Dionysus probably occupied a conspicuous place in or near the centre of the orchestra, about which the chorus performed its dances, not to be confounded, however, with the late altar mentioned above. Entrance to the orchestra was afforded by two side passages (*parodoi*) nine feet wide, which divided the wings of the auditorium from the stage-building. By these passages the chorus entered the orchestra at the beginning of each play, and the spectators could find their way (before the parapet was built) across the orchestra to the rows of seats.

The next main part of the theatre is the auditorium. It faces nearly south, the seats rising in tiers above one another on the slope of the Acropolis. The easy slope of the hillside marks this spot as one admirably adapted for the purposes of a theatre. At the extremities of the two wings, however, it was found necessary to build artificial substructions and

## PLAN V.—PLAN OF THE DIONYSIAC THEATRE

1. Foundations built of large blocks of conglomerate stone, supposed by some to be the foundation of the altar of Dionysus.
2. Byzantine building with three apses; possibly a bath-house (more probably Roman).
3. Foundations of the base of the gold and ivory statue of Dionysus by Alcamenes, in the cella of the later temple of Dionysus built in the second half of the 5th century B.C.
4. Foundations of the prostyle portico of the same temple.
5. Tall marble stele with a long inscription of Roman date.
6. Column with an inscription in honour of King Ariobarzanes.
7. Large circular marble altar decorated with masks and festoons.
8. Three circular marble bases for tripods with inscriptions to record choregic victories.
9. Cella of the early temple of Dionysus, built in the 6th century B.C.
10. Prostyle portico of the same temple.
11. North-west angle of the temple, where the south-west angle of the stoa of the theatre laps over its plinth course.
- 12, 12. Foundation wall of the row of columns of the stoa.
13. Columns of the stoa, restored.
- 14, 14. Drain to carry off rain water from the south-east angle of the orchestra of the theatre.
15. Existing fragment of the circular wall of polygonal masonry, which enclosed the oldest orchestra.
16. Another fragment of the same circle.
- 17, 17. Massive wall at the back of the stoa, built of conglomerate blocks, and faced on the south with a wall of poros stone.
18. Marble podium on which columns rested.
19. Fragment of a wall of polygonal masonry.
- 20, 20. Massive wall, partly of conglomerate and partly of poros stone, which formed the front of the earliest Greek scena, erected, according to Dörpfeld, by Lycurgus.
- 21, 21. Line of columns on a marble podium, which belonged to the second modified scena of the theatre.
22. Rebate cut in the conglomerate blocks of the earliest Greek scena, marking the position of a sloping approach.
- 23, 23. The same line of columns as 21, forming a colonnade and making the proscenium of the Roman stage.
- 24, 24. Latest Roman stage, advanced far into the original Greek orchestra, probably in the 3rd century A.D., and called the stage of Phaedrus.
25. Massive structure built of blocks of marble.
26. A chorégic monument; its inscribed frieze lies near it.

EXPLANATION OF PLAN V.—*Continued*

- 27. Massive marble pedestal of some colossal statue.
- 28, 28. Twelve flights of stairs which divide the cavea of the theatre into thirteen cunei.
- 29. Massive foundation of the cavea, built of conglomerate blocks.
- 30, 30. Foundation and retaining walls of the cavea on the west side, with a series of buttresses.
- 31, 31. Facing-wall, built of neat poros blocks, which concealed the inner walls of conglomerate stone.
- 32. Flight of steps.
- 33. South-west angle of the cavea.
- 34. Water-conduit, which drained the higher level of the Asclepieum.
- 35. Sacred spring of Asclepius in a cave in the Acropolis cliff.
- 36, 36. Mediaeval buttresses added to support the Acropolis wall.
- 37. Cave in the Acropolis cliff which was faced by the choregic monument of Thrasyllus.
- 38. Fragments of the inscriptions on the monument of Thrasyllus.
- 39, 39. Rock-cut foundations for the upper seats of the theatre.
- 40. A marble concave sun-dial, on the top of the scarped rock which formed the back of the cavea.





# PLAN OF THE DIONYSIAC THEATRE









retaining walls in order to give a proper height for the seats at these points. The rock of the Acropolis at the top is scarped in an irregular curve, and at the bottom of the scarp are some beds cut in the solid rock on which the seats were placed. The retaining walls on the western side are sufficiently preserved to show their construction. There are two of them, an inner and an outer wall, united by short cross-walls. The inner wall is of conglomerate, the outer wall is cased with blocks of Peiraic limestone, while its core is composed of blocks of conglomerate. The outer boundary of the auditorium seems to have formed about three-quarters of a circle, the two ends being prolonged in straight lines. The centre of the ancient orchestra lies a little way southeast of that of the later orchestra. It will be seen that the object of this divergence was to enable the builders to take advantage of the natural position of the rock and to reduce the extent and height of retaining walls and foundations for seats at the sides. It is also noticeable that the centre of the later orchestra is slightly shifted to the north of the centre of the auditorium. By this means the passage or aisle around the orchestra, between the lowest row of seats and the coping of the orchestra, is made wider as it approaches the parodoi. The breadth from the outer corner of one wing to the outer corner of the other wing was 87.53 m. (288 ft.). The distance between the inside corners, measured across the orchestra, was 21.94 m. (72 ft.). The distance from the most remote seat under the cliff of the Acropolis to the centre of the proscenium of the Lycurgus stage (20) is, roughly measured, about 77 metres (253 ft.). The seats, except those cut out of the native rock referred to above and the front row which consisted of marble chairs, were made of Peiraic limestone. From twenty to thirty of the bottom rows remain. The seats are cut out of a single block of stone in such a manner as to show a surface divided into three parts; that is to say, the front, slightly raised to form the seat itself and slightly cut under to make more room for the feet, the middle, sunk to afford space for the feet of the spectator in the next seat above, and the back part, serving as a support for the next seat behind. The seats have transverse cuts in their front surface which Gardner takes as a means of indicating

the space allowed for each visitor. This space is only thirteen inches for each person, which, as Gardner acknowledges, seems absurdly small (151). Dörpfeld thinks that these cuts indicate measurements, the distance between each cut (0.33 m.) being exactly the length of a Greek foot (152), and he assigns a space of about half a metre (19.5 in.) to each person. On this basis about 14,000 persons could be seated. This number, Dörpfeld admits, may be increased to 17,000 if we take certain other vertical cuts or marks on the front of the seats as intended to limit the space allowed for each person, the latter cuts indicating a space of 0.41 m. (16 in.). The whole auditorium was divided by flights of steps which radiate like the spokes of a wheel from the orchestra, giving access to the seats and dividing the rows into wedge-shaped blocks, called by the Greeks *wedges* (κερκίδες), by the Latins *cunei*. There were thirteen of these *cunei*. In addition to these transverse passages there were two horizontal aisles, called *belts* (διαζώματα) dividing the auditorium into three parts. Only the upper one is still to be seen; its preservation may be due to the fact that this passageway was in ancient days a public thoroughfare which served as a road to the Acropolis for those who lived in the eastern part of the city. The lower one of the aisles must have divided the remaining and larger mass of seats into two nearly equal parts, but its location cannot now be determined. The front row of seats was made up of sixty-seven chairs of Pentelic marble, which were doubtless intended for the dignitaries, such as priests, magistrates, the archons, who were entitled to the privilege of the *proedria* or front seat. The handsomely carved arm-chair in the middle of the row, the largest and finest of them all, was reserved for the priest of Eleutherian Dionysus. This seat was also distinguished above the others in having a baldachin or awning over it, holes in the pavement for the support of which are still to be seen. The date to which these marble thrones are to be assigned is a matter of dispute. Dörpfeld holds that they belong to the same period as the construction of the stone theatre itself, that is to the fourth century. The inscriptions, however, which are carved on the seats of the arm-chairs are of later origin, probably of the Hellenistic and Roman period, and in many cases have superseded older

inscriptions which have been cut out. A number of pedestals of Roman date occupy various places in the auditorium, and some of the marble chairs are no longer *in situ*. The date of the stone auditorium is assigned by Dörpfeld, as already intimated, to the second half of the fourth century B.C., when the theatre was built or rebuilt by the statesman and orator Lycurgus. If this opinion is correct it follows that there was no permanent stone theatre at Athens before that time. The acoustic properties must have been remarkably good; any one may test them for himself if he will stand under the cliffs of the Acropolis and listen to loud speaking or declamation from the orchestra or the extant remains of the stage.

The remains of the earliest stage-building are almost wholly foundation walls. Above the foundation walls of conglomerate lies a course of Peiraic limestone partially preserved, and above this appears a narrow stylobate of Hymettian marble. These remains can best be seen at the west corner of the building, but it is to be observed that the piece of the stylobate that now supports pieces of columns belongs to a later period, and that the original foundation of the stage building at this corner has in part been removed, a few stones only remaining in position. Now it is to be observed that the simultaneous use of conglomerate, Peiraic limestone, and Hymettian marble is characteristic of Athenian buildings which date from the fourth to the second century B.C. From this fact as well as from the excellence of the masonry, Dörpfeld infers that these architectural remains belonged to the new stone theatre which Lycurgus built or completed in the fourth century B.C. No trace of any older stage-building has been found. From these remains Dörpfeld has reconstructed the stage-building (σκηνή) of Lycurgus, which he thinks consisted of a large rectangular hall (20), in front of which the action was represented. This hall had two projecting wings, each about seven metres (23 ft.) wide by five metres (16 ft. 5 in.) deep. In the space between the wings, about twenty metres (66 ft.) in length, the scenery was placed; this was of wood and canvas and was removed when the performance was over.

The front both of the central part of the stage-building and of its two projecting wings was adorned with a row of Doric



columns. Remains of columns and of an architrave which seem to have originally decorated the front of one of the wings were discovered when the theatre was excavated in 1885. The height of the row of columns, with their architrave, triglyph, frieze and cornice is calculated by Dörpfeld to have been about four metres (13 ft.). This is to be taken, then, as approximately the height of the stage-building erected by Lycurgus. In front of this wall of the stage-building was erected the wooden, later the stone proscenium before which the action was represented. The two wings furnished the side-scenes (*παρασκήνια*). But of a stage proper no trace appears. The space between the seats of the auditorium and the proscenium or front of the stage-building was adequate to allow a complete circle for the orchestra. The rectangular hall itself doubtless served as a dressing-room for the actors and a store-room for the scenery. Immediately behind this rectangular stage-building lie the foundations and a few stones which formed part of the walls of a portico opening to the south and about 32 metres (105 ft.) long from east to west. From the building material employed and from the character of the masonry Dörpfeld concludes that this portico was built at the same time as the theatre of Lycurgus. The fact that its stylobate abutted against a corner of the northern steps of the earlier temple of Dionysus has led to the inference that the latter must then already have been in ruins. But Dörpfeld denies the correctness of this inference, and believes that this temple was still standing in the time of Pausanias, who in fact describes it. The purpose of this portico is believed to have been not only to serve as a shelter against rain and heat, but also to afford an architectural ornament for the bare walls of the stage-building seen from the rear.

Those who believe in the existence of a stage for this earlier period place in the space between the two projecting wings the raised stage, and think that the narrow stylobate of Hymettian marble with traces of a row of columns upon it and with the shafts of some columns still standing (23 in plan), formed the permanent proscenium of this stage (153). The Lycurgus plan as indicated by the foundation walls above mentioned was later changed in some features, but its general outline was preserved. Many walls indicate later structures and changes



consisting chiefly in the erection of a permanent proscenium, in the addition of a stage proper (*βῆμα*), and in the reconstruction of the wings or parascenia. Some of these changes belong to the second period in the history of the stage-building. But before we leave the earlier stage-building we must say a word about a basis built of conglomerate blocks, standing against the rear wall of the hall and near the centre. That this basis belongs to the building erected by Lycurgus is undoubted, but its object is a matter of conjecture. It may have served as the support of a construction in the second story or of a stairway leading up to it.

The theatre of Lycurgus underwent its first modification in the second or more probably the first century before our era. This change, however, was not a radical one. It consisted in substituting for the wooden and changeable proscenium of the earlier stage-building a permanent proscenium built of a marble colonnade, with probably wooden or stone panels (*pinakes*) inserted between the marble columns as in the theatre at Oropus. This reconstruction of the scene is indicated in our plan by a row of columns marked 23 and 21. It will be seen that the wings (*parascenia*) of the older building were clipped in front, to the amount of 1.70 metres (3 ft. 7 in.), and that thereby the width of the side passages (*parodoi*) was increased to 4.30 metres (14 ft. 1 in.). The columns were probably about 12 ft. high and were presumably the same which formerly stood immediately in front of the older scena of Lycurgus as indicated in Dörpfeld's restoration. The stylobate which supported this line of columns still exists; it is parallel to the line of the stage-building of Lycurgus and at a distance of about 1.25 metres (4 ft. 1 in.) in front of it. The foundations are built of rubble and squared blocks. Slabs of bluish marble laid on the top of the foundations formed the stylobate proper; circular marks on the marble show where the columns stood. This line of columns must have formed the front of the stage, if we accept the traditional view that there was a raised stage at this time. From the character of the masonry Dörpfeld concludes that this proscenium was built in its present restored position between 330 B.C. and 60 A.D. The fact that in the second and first centuries B.C. the theatres of Oropus, Eretria, Sicyon,

and many other Greek cities were adorned with the permanent proscenium of marble or stone, justifies the inference that this marble proscenium of the theatre of Dionysus in Athens was erected in the same period. Professor Dörpfeld thinks that this marble proscenium may have been built soon after the capture of Athens by Sulla in 86 B.C., when, as appears from Pausanias (i. 20, 4), the adjoining Music Hall, the Odeum of Pericles, was destroyed (see p. 246), and the theatre may also have suffered injury. But even when this permanent proscenium was erected there was still, according to the view of Dörpfeld, no raised stage, but actors continued to occupy the orchestra on the same level as the chorus, and the action went on before the proscenium as a background. This proscenium then was a colonnade nearly 4 metres (13 ft.) high running from one paraskenion or wing to the other. Between the columns panels (*pinakes*) of stone or of wood and painted to represent different scenes were inserted, as already stated above. The middle intercolumniation of the proscenium is larger than the rest, and seems to have been closed by means of a double folding door; the holes for the bolts and sockets of the door are still to be seen in the threshold. Besides this central door the existence of a smaller side door to the left is indicated by the masonry. There is no trace of a corresponding door to the right. No cornice exists to indicate the nature of the construction of the colonnade at the top. From the existence of holes in the triglyph blocks and from the construction of the better preserved theatres at Epidauros and Oropus we may conclude that a solid roof, probably of wood, covered the space between the Hellenistic proscenium and the front wall of the stage-building. This space as measured by the extant foundations was about 1.25 metres in breadth. That there was no second story to this colonnade, that is, another row of columns on top of the first or lower row, is quite certain. But that there was a second story to the stone stage-building at Athens is made probable by a similar construction in the other Hellenistic theatres, such as those at Oropus and Eretria. From the fact that the threshold of the proscenium has the same level as the orchestra Dörpfeld infers that the orchestra must have extended to the proscenium also in this period, as it

did before, and that the present orchestra with pavement of marble slabs and describing a little more than half a circle is only a part of the earlier orchestra which formed a complete circle. Such a circular orchestra bounded by a stone sill is still to be seen in the theatre of Epidaurus which dates, according to Dörpfeld, from the latter part of the fourth century.

The Dörpfeld theory of the non-existence of a raised stage until the Roman period is based in part on the interpretation of passages in the Greek dramatists and of references to the stage in Greek and Roman writers, as well as on the interpretation of the evidence offered by the extant remains of other ancient theatres, such as those at Pergamon and Delos. It is perhaps worth the while to state briefly the view of those scholars who put a different interpretation upon the architectural evidence, and who hold that there is no difficulty in restoring the earliest extant stage-building at Athens in such a way as to prove the existence of a raised stage for the actors at least as early as the time of Lycurgus (the fourth century), and who believe that the analogy of the later Greek theatre would lead one to expect a stage or platform in the Greek theatre of earlier times also.

The chief point at issue between these two conflicting views turns upon the question whether what Dörpfeld restores as the proscenium was simply the background for the actors standing in the orchestra, or whether this proscenium supported and enclosed a platform or stage about twelve feet high and ten feet wide for the actors to stand on. According to the latter view, the space between the projecting wings of the foundation was occupied at first by a temporary wooden platform which was later superseded by a stone proscenium used as a stage. A probable form for such a stage is suggested in the restoration proposed by Puchstein (*Die Griechische Bühne*, p. 135) and shown in the accompanying plan.

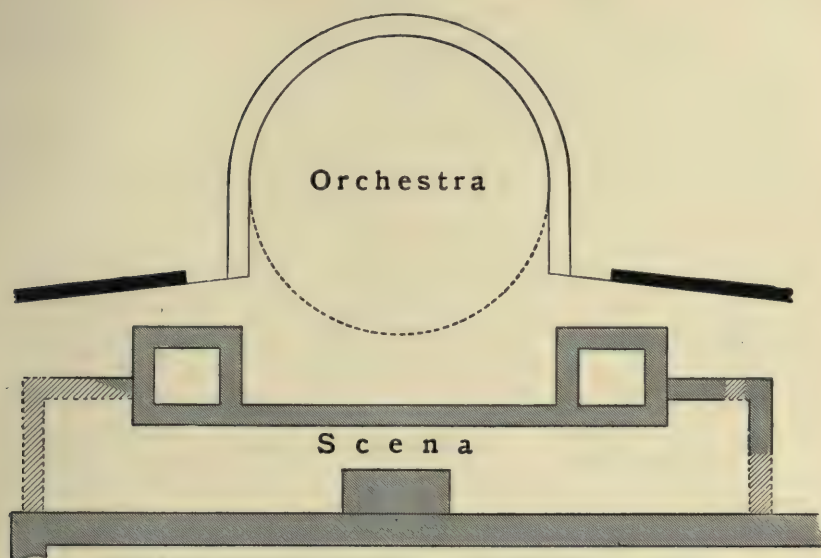
The extant remains of the Dionysiac theatre do not furnish conclusive evidence in favor of either restoration. The narrow stylobate of Hymettian marble, to which reference was made above, has traces of columns differently spaced at different times. According to Dörpfeld the intercolumniation points to an original arrangement of the columns immediately in front of



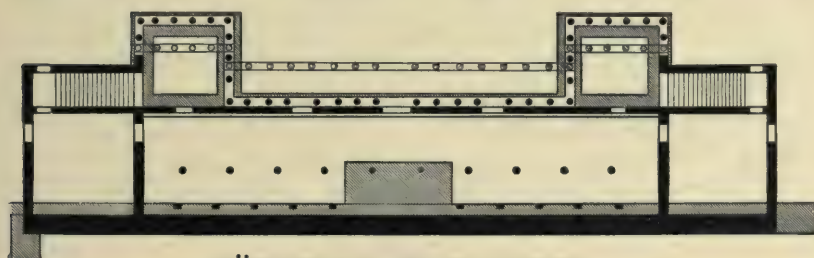
the wall of the stage-building (*σκηνή*) built by Lycurgus, both together resting on the broad conglomerate foundation facing the orchestra, while in the parascenia the rows of columns extend at both sides beyond the projecting wings of this foundation and stand out free. To this restoration Puchstein objects that it is unlikely that the foundation would have been made so broad on the wings if it had been originally intended to carry only this narrow stylobate, and that the effect of a row of columns standing close to a wall fronting the orchestra and standing free on the wings would be inharmonious. According to Puchstein the proscenium with marble columns is of later origin than the conglomerate foundations of the earliest stage-building, may have been the work of Lycurgus, was shifted into its present position at a later period, occupied originally more nearly the position of its wooden predecessor, and was from the first a raised platform, on which the actors performed their parts. That the earliest permanent stage-building at Athens must antedate the time of Lycurgus Puchstein argues from the existence of the stone stage-building at Eretria, which is a theatre of the same type as that at Athens, and whose stage dates, he thinks, from the fourth or possibly the fifth century B.C.

The third period in the history of the Dionysiac theatre is marked by the remodelling both of the stage and the orchestra in the reign of Nero. Existing walls, marble pavement, remains of architecture and sculpture attest this reconstruction, the date of which is fixed by an inscription (*C.I.A.* iii. 158), carved on an architrave which records a dedication to Eleutherian Dionysus and Nero. The chief changes made in this period were the construction of a low broad Roman stage projecting into the orchestra, the laying down of a marble pavement in the orchestra, and the separation of the auditorium from the orchestra by a marble parapet. The front line of this new stage is believed by Dörpfeld to have coincided with the still later stage of Phaedrus (see below), except that it was not prolonged on either side as far as the seats of the spectators. The communication between the *parodoi* and the auditorium was not yet cut off. Besides the architrave which carries the inscription above mentioned, the shaft of one column and several fragments of columns,

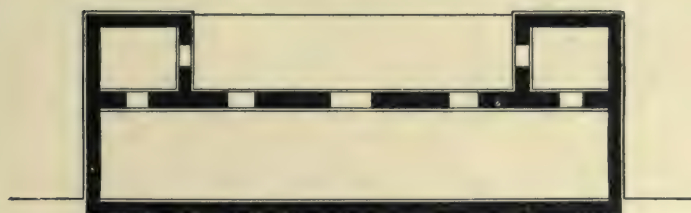




EXTANT FOUNDATIONS - ORCHESTRA LEVEL.



DÖRPFELD'S RESTORATION.



PUCHSTEIN'S RESTORATION - FIRST FLOOR LEVEL.

SCENA OF THEATRE.

bases, and capitals belonging to the new proscenium have been found. Several figures of satyrs also were found in the ruins, which seem to have served as supports to the entablature (154). Whereas the columns that supported the proscenium stood in the earlier Greek theatre on the level of the orchestra, in this Romanized theatre these columns stand on the level of the stage proper or bema which projects in front of the proscenium and into the orchestra. This, of course, is the radical change which, according to Dörpfeld, the theatre now suffered. Such a stage, about 1.50 m. high, (4 ft. 11 in.), we must assume for this later structure. This height corresponds to the statement of Vitruvius (v. 6, 2) concerning the height of the Roman stage. Its existence is made certain by extant courses of masonry, and by the remains of the front wall of a Roman stage (24 in plan). This front wall, to be sure, with its reliefs was built, according to an inscription cut into the steps in front of it, by the Archon Phaedrus two or three centuries later, but the masonry of this square-wall points to a reconstruction, and contains material of an earlier similar wall which supported the Roman bema. This wall as we now see it is built of different kinds of stones bedded in mortar, and is faced with a marble veneering which is made up of a base of a frieze or course of slabs carrying a relief, and of a top moulding. Four slabs of this frieze are preserved. They portray the birth and worship of Dionysus and are described in the first volume of the *Papers of the American School at Athens* (p. 137) and in Harrison and Verrall's *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* (p. 282). It should be added that the present arrangement of this frieze cannot have been the original one. The plates or slabs must have been arranged so as to form one continuous frieze, and the niches, in one of which a Silenus is crouching, are due to a later displacement and to the loss of many of the original slabs. The probability is that the old wall of the stage had been damaged, and that in its place a new wall was erected of greater thickness, so as to hold the water with which the orchestra was filled for the exhibition of mimic sea-fights. For it should be observed that the building of the Roman stage involved an important change in the orchestra. Instead of a circular orchestra, whose surface was

the ground, we find a space whose periphery is about two-thirds of a circle, and whose floor is a pavement of slabs of marble enclosing a rhombus-shaped figure.

In order to facilitate communications between persons on the raised stage and in the orchestra we must assume steps. These steps, now seen, placed in front of the stage wall belong to the stage of Phaedrus. Further changes were made in the time of Hadrian, but these were confined mainly to the auditorium. Probably in his reign an imperial seat or box



FIG. 106.—The Stage of Phaedrus.

was built between two of the *cunei* of seats lying next east of the throne of the priest of Dionysus, to which a flight of marble steps leading up from the orchestra gave access. The emperor's vanity was doubtless gratified by having his statue erected in each of the thirteen sections of the seats. Some of the pedestals of these statues are extant. Numerous other pedestals, wholly or in part preserved, belong to statues erected in honor of Herodes Atticus and other benefactors of Athens and of distinguished poets and other authors (155).

We have only literary evidence for the presence of bronze statues of the three great tragic poets in the theatre, and of bronze statues of Miltiades and Themistocles, each with a

Persian captive, which it is said stood in the left and right passageways leading into the orchestra. In the precincts and approaches of the theatre stood many votive offerings, especially in the upper approaches under the walls of the Acropolis. We find there the ruins of one of the so-called choregic monuments that were put up in honor of a victory gained in a dramatic contest by a chorus. This monument will be presently described. We must now return to the theatre. The number of seats of honor in the theatre was increased, those in the front row no longer sufficing to meet the demand for this distinction. Holes drilled into the rock in front of the seats of honor and behind the row of marble thrones may have had inserted in them wooden posts to hold up cloth screens in order to protect the favored occupants of these seats from the glare and heat of the sun.

The wings of the stage-building were probably ornamented with handsome porches, of which, however, only small and uncertain fragments have been found. The last reconstruction of the stage-building falls in the third or possibly the fourth century A.D., and is attested by an inscription cut into the topmost step of the marble flight that leads up to the logeion. The inscription (156) runs thus :

"To thee [Dionysus], who delightest in the orgy, Phaedrus, son of Zoilos, governor of life-giving Attica, furnished this beautiful bema of the theatre."

This construction has been already referred to above. It was limited to the stage and to the orchestra. It consisted in re-building and strengthening the proscenium wall of the stage, and in erecting a supporting wall behind the marble parapet around the orchestra. This reconstruction, as we have already seen, was made largely from the material of the earlier bema built by Nero, and involved a displacement of the slabs of the frieze that originally decorated the front of the decorated wall that supported the bema from which the actors spoke.

The theatre was too convenient a place of assembly to be left unused except at the time of the festivals in honor of Dionysus. Already in the time of Lycurgus the theatre began to supersede the Pnyx as a place for the meetings of the assembly of citizens (*ecclesia*) and ἐν Διονύσου or ἐν



τῷ θεάτρῳ is found appended to the preamble of decrees of the fourth century. Just when the theatre fell wholly into disuse is unknown. The worship of Dionysus declined through the influence of Christianity at an early period. In the Roman period the theatre was the scene of mimic sea-fights, and, according to Dio Chrysostom and Philostratus, it served also as an arena for gladiatorial combats. In the Middle Ages even the site of the theatre was lost to view, and the first explorers mistook the ruins of the better preserved Odeum of Herodes Atticus for the Dionysiac theatre. Leake first recognized the true site, and not until 1886 was the earliest dancing place of the chorus discovered by the scientific researches of Dörpfeld.

In connection with the theatre Pausanias speaks of the Music Hall (Odeum) of Pericles, built for the musical contests held at the Panathenaic festival, and as a place for the rehearsal of the tragedies which were to be exhibited at the great Dionysiac festival. This hall was the scene of the betrayal of the citizens capable of bearing arms by Critias, one of the Thirty Tyrants (Xenoph. *Hellen.* ii. 4, 9), and appears to have been one of the favorite lounging places of the later philosophers. A passage in Plutarch's life of Pericles (xiii. 160) says that this building had many seats and pillars within, the roof was made slanting and converging to one point, and "they say it was made after the model and as an imitation of the tent of the king of Persia." The comic poet Cratinus compared the high conical head of Pericles to this Music Hall. It is this structure to which Aristophanes refers in the *Wasps*, when the chorus says:

"Then we manage all our business in a waspish sort of way,  
Swarming in the courts of justice, gathering in from day to day  
Many where the Eleven write, as many where the Archon calls,  
Many too in the Odeum, many to the city walls."

From this it appears that the dicasts occasionally met in this building. The site of this structure can be approximately determinated from a statement in Vitruvius (v. 9, 1.), who says that the Odeum was before one when he departed from the theatre on the left-hand side, that is towards the east, which is at the left of the spectator in the theatre. From this, and from a passage in the speech of Andocides

*On the Mysteries*, which refers to the Music Hall as on a higher level than the theatre, it follows that this structure is to be located just east of the theatre. This building was burnt down, according to Appian (157), by Aristion in order to prevent Sulla from utilizing it in his attempt to scale and seize the citadel. From Vitruvius (v. 9, 1) we learn that it was restored (about 50 B.C.) by the munificence of Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia. Its subsequent history is unknown



FIG. 107.—Eastern part of Asclepieum. Boundary Wall of Theatre, above which Choregic Monument of Thrasylus and two Columns.

and no remains of it have been found. On leaving the theatre Pausanias notices a gilded head of the Gorgon Medusa fastened on the wall of the Acropolis above, which he says elsewhere (v. xii. 4) was set up by Antiochus. This Medusa head was doubtless intended as a charm against the evil eye. Next Pausanias mentions a cave in the rocks at the foot of the Acropolis. Above this cave is a tripod. This cave is still to be seen immediately above the theatre. It is about seven metres (23 ft.) wide and fifteen metres (50 ft.) deep. The floor of the cave is at two different levels, the back part being higher than the front. The cavern has long

served as a chapel dedicated to the Madonna of the Cave (*Panagia Spiliotissa*). On the walls of the cave are some badly-faded Byzantine paintings. In front of the mouth of the cave was built a portico forming the choregic monument of Thrasyllus. According to recent restorations, this little portico consisted of two corner and one middle pilaster resting on two steps and supporting an epistyle, which was in turn surmounted by a frieze adorned with eleven marble wreaths carved in relief. Above this ran a cornice. So much of the building was of Pentelic marble and seems complete. The tripod of Thrasyllus may have been placed on the centre apex of an acroterion which crowned a pediment. But this part of the structure was later changed. The inscription recording the choregic victory of Thrasyllus in the archonship of Neaichmos (319 B.C.) was cut on the centre of the architrave, where Stuart saw it (158). This part of the building dates back to Thrasyllus. About fifty years later Thrasycles, his son, won a victory as president of the games (*agonothetes*) with a chorus of men and of boys. He too was expected to set up prize tripods. The conspicuous location of his father's monument and the opportunity of saving expense seem to have induced him to utilize this structure for his own glorification. He changed the upper part of it, and added a superstructure, what is technically called an "Attika," consisting of a basis at either end of the architrave, presumably for each of the tripods and a central base with three steps on which was placed a seated statue. The statue, which had lost its head as early as 1676, is draped in a long robe, and has a panther's skin thrown over the shoulders. It is supposed to represent Dionysus. The statue was taken by Lord Elgin to England and is now in the British Museum. On the bases of the "Attika," at either end of the architrave, are cut two inscriptions commemorating two victories won by choruses, one by boys, and the other by men, furnished by the state in the archonship of Pytharatus (271-70 B.C.) when Thrasycles of Declea, the son of Thrasyllus, was president of the games (*agonothetes*). That this upper portion of the building was built subsequently to the original monument erected by Thrasyllus is shown by Reisch as follows: (1) The Doric façade was of Pentelic marble, but



the "Attika," of Hymettian marble; (2) the middle line of the "Attika" is not coincident with that of the façade; (3) the light weight of the pilasters of the façade shows that they were not intended originally to support so heavy a superstructure.

Pausanias after mentioning the tripod says: "in it are figures of Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe," leaving us in doubt whether he meant that this group was represented in relief on the tripod (for which the more natural

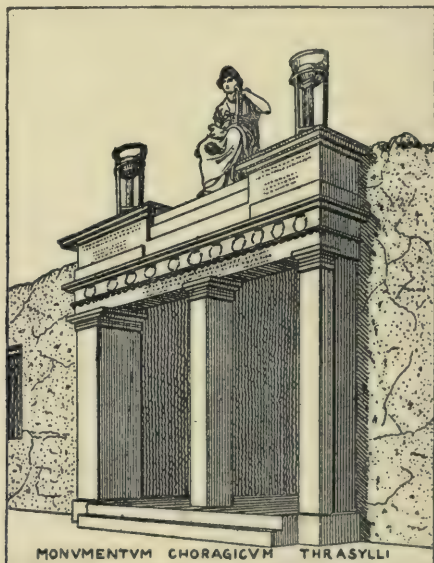


FIG. 108.—Choregic Monument of Thrasyllus. Restored.

expression would be ἐπ' αὐτῷ rather than ἐν αὐτῷ), or was a group of statuary that stood in the portico of the cave or in the cave itself. That the statue of Dionysus, as Frazer supposes, was enclosed by the legs of the tripod is shown by Reisch to be quite impossible, owing to the dimensions of the statue which must have been originally  $2\frac{1}{4}$  metres (7 ft. 5 in.) high. The monument, after having been seen and described by Cyriacus of Ancona (1436) and by the later English travellers, Wheler, Stuart, Chandler, and Dodwell, was destroyed by the Turks in 1826-27. But the two last-mentioned inscriptions on the bases of Hymettian marble and a piece on the





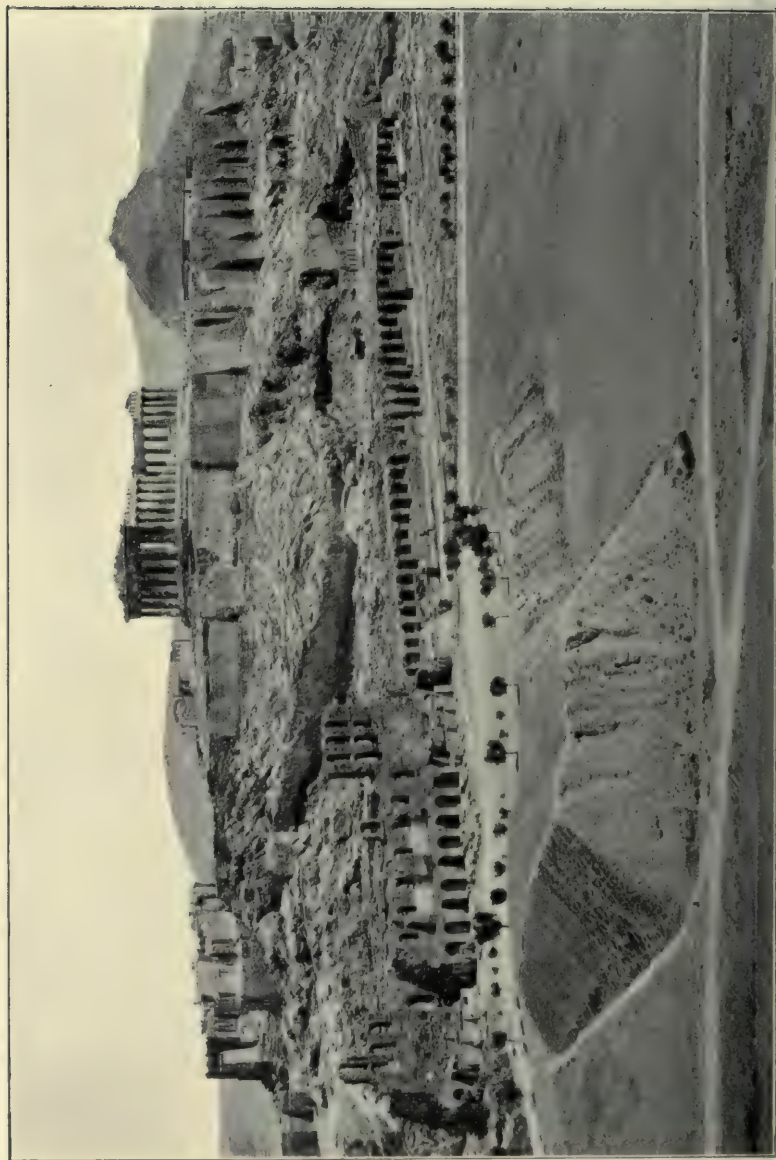


PLATE VIII.

THE ACROPOLIS, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.  
THEATRE OF HERODES ATTICUS AND THE STOA OF EUMENES IN THE FOREGROUND.

white marble architrave carrying the Thrasyllus inscription may still be seen lying on the ground near the cave. Higher up the slope of the Acropolis above the cave are seen two tall columns of Roman date, with triangular Corinthian capitals. These columns originally supported tripods; the holes in which the feet of the tripods were fastened can be perceived on the top of the capitals by looking down at them from the summit of the Acropolis. The columns stand on bases of five steps; on the upper step of the column to the east several Roman inscriptions recording the names of dedicators may still be read. A number of similar inscriptions much weathered are carved on the rock to the east of the columns. On the right-hand side, as one faces the Thrasyllus monument, we see against the Acropolis rock a portion of an ancient marble sun-dial, which is doubtless the same that is mentioned by the writer of the Vienna Anonymous guide-book (159), which was written between 1456 and 1460 A.D.

The next object of interest named by Pausanias, who is on his way from the theatre to the sanctuary of Asclepius, is the tomb of Calos, or Talos according to some of the ancients. The story runs that Talos by his superior ingenuity aroused the envy of his uncle and master Daedalus to such a degree that he was thrown by him over the battlements of the Acropolis. He was buried secretly by Daedalus in the spot where he fell. His mother, Perdix, hung herself from grief and had a sanctuary beside his tomb. The tomb of Talos is mentioned by Lucian (*Piscator*, 42), where he describes the eagerness with which the hungry philosophers swarmed up the Acropolis to receive a dole. Being too impatient to make their way by the regular entrance, they placed ladders against the walls and clambered up where they could, some by the sanctuary of Asclepius and others by the grave of Talos. This, together with the statement of Pausanias, makes it quite certain that this ancient tomb lay between the monument of Thrasyllus and the temple of Asclepius, close to the foot of the Acropolis (160).

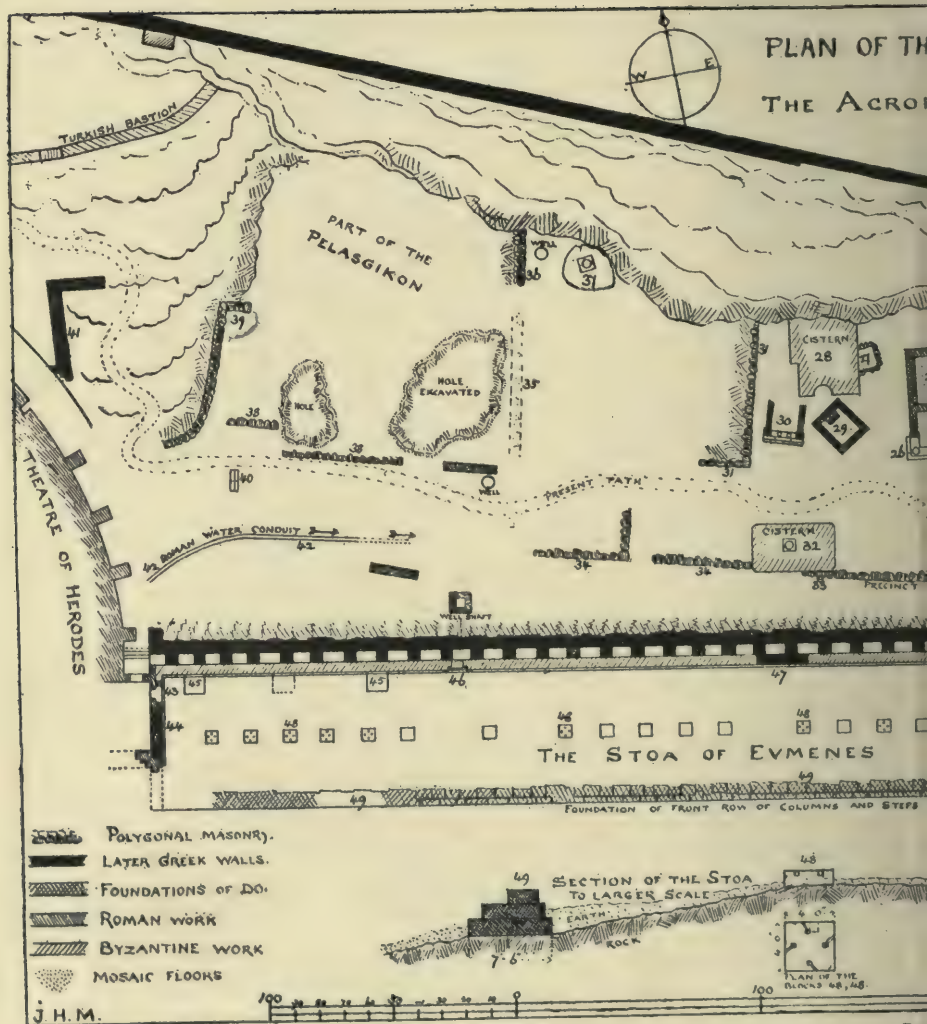
From the theatre Pausanias proceeds westward along the southern foot of the Acropolis and comes next to the sanctuary of Asclepius. The slope of the rock from the western boundary of the theatre to the Odeum of Herodes Atticus is divided

longitudinally into an upper and a lower terrace. This upper terrace, some 173 metres (189 yds.) long, is bounded on the south by the arched wall, popularly named the *Serpentzé*, and in some drawings designated as "the Frankish wall," which formed the supporting wall at the rear of the Portico of Eumenes. This upper terrace is itself divided into three plateaus which rise one above the other in the direction from east to west. This entire slope of the Acropolis had been covered for many years with layers of earth and of debris thrown down from the Acropolis by the excavations conducted by Ross in 1834 and by others in the years following. In 1876 the Greek Archaeological Society began the work of clearing away the piles of dirt and rubbish that covered up the ruins of the buildings that stood on the slope.

Among these was the sanctuary of Asclepius, which occupied the easternmost and lowest of the three plateaus. Its boundaries are clearly defined by the Acropolis and by retaining walls on the east and south, but its extent to the west is not certain. The probability is that its western boundary is marked by the polygonal wall marked 31 in the plan, the accompanying explanation of which, given by Middleton in *J.H.S.* 1900, *Suppl.* iii., renders superfluous a minute account of all the ruins. A description, however, of the more important buildings, which is based on the account of Frazer (*Pausan.* ii. p. 235), seems desirable. The Sanctuary was reached from the theatre by means of a ramp or descending road which led down from the middle of the auditorium. The walls which supported this ramp, indicated in the plan, are partly preserved. The most conspicuous of the ruins are those of the stoa or portico. This structure is 49.50 metres (162 ft. 5 in.) in length and about 10 metres (33 ft.) deep. The outer line of the stylobate, with portions of the back and side walls are preserved. The columns stood on two marble steps supported by a foundation of conglomerate. Marks left by the columns on the stylobate indicate a rebuilding of the portico with slenderer columns placed at wider intervals. The original portico was of the Doric order, and had seventeen columns, but the shafts of Doric columns left unfluted to a height of about 11 feet now

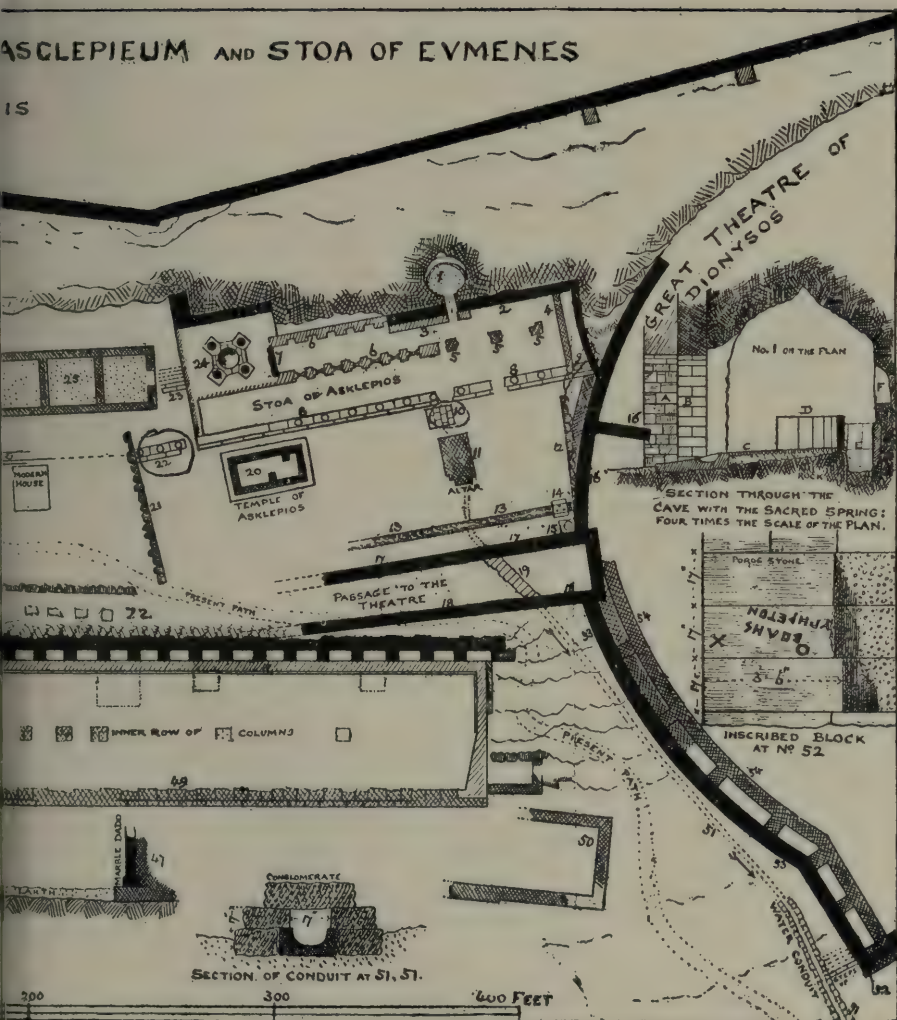






# ASCLEPIEUM AND STOA OF EVMENES

IS



Facing p. 250.





## PLAN VI.—PLAN OF THE ASCLEPIEUM

1. Cave containing the sacred spring, paved with pebble mosaic.
2. Wall built of fine poros blocks with dado and coping of Hymettian marble.
3. Rudely built Byzantine wall added in front of the original wall.
4. Original cross-wall, now destroyed, near the end of the stoa of Asclepius.
5. Foundation blocks of the inner row of columns of the stoa.
- 6, 6. Rudely built wall and arcade, added in Byzantine times.
7. Original end wall of stoa, built of very neat draughted poros blocks.
- 8, 8. Existing marble steps and bases of the front row of columns.
9. Marble slab, formerly a low screen at the S.E. angle of the stoa.
10. Marble-lined bath added in Byzantine times.
11. Foundations of the altar of Asclepius.
12. Polygonal wall at the east end of the Asclepieum.
- 13, 13. Wall on the south, apparently of same period as 17 and 18.
14. Upper part of choregic monument which now lies on the south polygonal wall.
15. Ancient wall.
16. Walls supporting the cavea of the great theatre.
- 17, 17. Wall of the passage and stairs to the theatre, built of conglomerate stone.
- 18, 18. Similar wall on the south of the passage.
19. Water channel, built of large conglomerate blocks; this channel was cut into and made useless when the passage to the theatre was built.
20. Foundations of the Temple of Asclepius.
21. Polygonal wall running north and south.
22. Remains of marble steps and columns in continuation of the front of the stoa of Asclepius, but at a rather higher level.
23. Steps up to the platform at the west end of the stoa.
24. Platform in which is a circular sacrificial pit, with four columns, which once supported a marble canopy or aedicula.
- 25, 25. Four chambers for priests or patients; the floors are formed of pebble mosaic; in front is a stoa or colonnade.
26. Marble steps, anta and bases of columns at the S.W. angle of the stoa.
27. Water-tank built of very neat polygonal masonry.
28. Large brick vaulted cistern of Byzantine date.
29. Foundations of a small shrine, built of Kará limestone and poros.
30. Another small shrine *in antis*, of which marble steps and bases still exist, of late, possibly Byzantine date.
31. Polygonal wall on the west of the two small shrines.
32. Large vaulted brick cistern of Byzantine date.
33. Block of marble inscribed *Horos Krenes*, inserted in the polygonal wall on the south side of the Asclepieum.
34. Continuation of the polygonal wall.
35. Polygonal wall running N. and S. This part is now missing.

EXPLANATION OF PLAN VI.—*Continued*

36. Well-preserved piece of the same wall.
37. Inscribed blocks of a choregic monument, which in late times have been used as the top of a well.
38. Fragments of polygonal wall, possibly of an ancient material built over.
39. Well-preserved piece of polygonal wall with an anta at the end.
40. Two steps cut out of one block of poros stone.
41. Massive walls of conglomerate blocks, which, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, belonged to the substructure of the choregic monument of Nicias.
42. Roman water conduit lined with pottery.
43. Door to the Theatre of Herodes Atticus cut through the end wall of the stoa of Eumenes.
44. Part of the original end of the stoa, built of very great blocks of poros.
- 45, 45. Large pedestals for statues added in late Roman times; the dotted squares show the positions of other similar pedestals which no longer exist.
46. Drinking-fountain inserted in the back wall of the stoa.
47. The only fragment of the original facing of the back wall of the stoa which still exists, all the rest having been rebuilt in late Roman or Byzantine times.
- 48, 48. Foundation blocks of the inner row of columns.
- 49, 49. Continuous foundations for the steps and front columns.
50. Foundations of a building of large blocks of Acropolis rock and conglomerate stone.
51. Water conduit of travertine and conglomerate stone.
52. Block of poros stone with an inscription set upside down, built into the S.W. angle of the cavea of the great theatre.
53. Facing-wall of neat blocks of poros round the curve of the cavea of the Dionysiac theatre.
54. Inner wall and buttress of conglomerate stone.

seen *in situ* belong to a later reconstruction of the portico. An inner row of columns, probably Ionic, the bases of some of which are seen, supported the roof. The foot of the rear wall is faced with a dado and coping of Hymettian marble. The fact that the row of blue marble slabs stops short a little way from the eastern end of the stoa, and that at this point there existed a cross-wall (4) leads Dörpfeld to believe that here may have been a stairway that led up to a balcony or

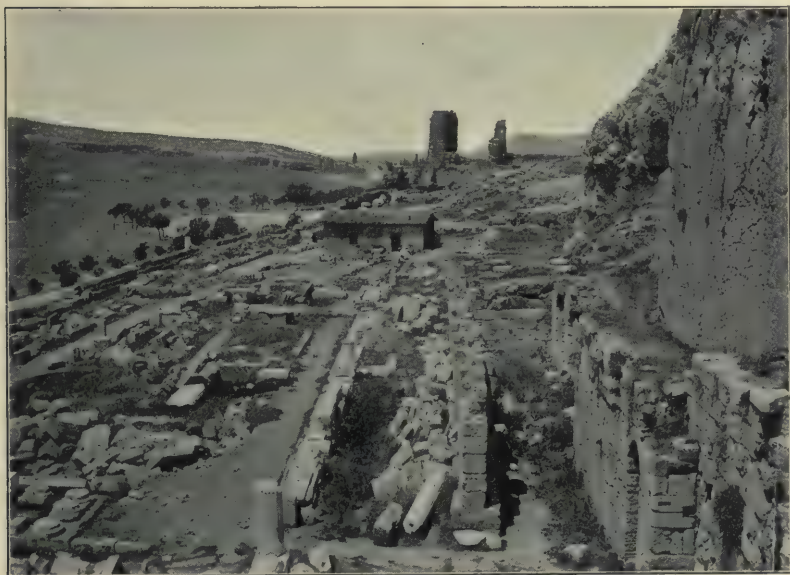


FIG. 109.—Western Part of the Asclepieum. Remains of Portico.

upper story. Traces of a stairway at the western end, and the scarping of the rock contiguous to the rear wall go to show that the portico had an upper story. This upper floor lay probably on a level with the platform built around the sacrificial pit (24). The portico, as was intimated above, has undergone reconstruction. Traces of two rows of columns in the front with different intercolumniations and diameters are found; the younger row, parts of which are still preserved *in situ*, are of Roman date. The portico was open at the front for about a quarter of its length; in the remaining part there was a wall of later date between the columns, the

closed part beginning at the twelfth column reckoning from the east to the west end. In the Middle Ages a vaulted passage was constructed in the northern half of the western portion of the colonnade, the ruins of which are designated in the plan by 6. In front of the portico there are walls and foundations that belong to Byzantine chapels and other buildings, probably dwellings, of a late period. Through an arched (34) doorway in the back wall of the portico we enter a small round chamber with a dome-shaped roof hewn



FIG. 110. Entrance to the Spring of Asclepieion.

in the rock of the Acropolis. Within it is the well or fountain of which Pausanias speaks. Its water is pure but somewhat brackish. The channel for conducting the water formed by slabs set upright is ancient, but the arched entrance dates from Byzantine times, when the grotto was made into a chapel. Its walls were at the same time coated with stucco to be painted with sacred pictures. A picture of the Virgin stands in a niche above the spring, and the modern Greek still burns candles and prays in this spot. Xenophon (*Memor.* iii. 13, 3) speaks of the water as warm. If the water ever possessed any medicinal properties these can no longer



be recognized. Judging from the use of Hymettian marble in its construction and from the character of its masonry, we may put the colonnade in the fourth century B.C. The platform (24) at the west end of the colonnade, about ten feet high, has in its middle a circular shaft about seven feet deep. The sides of the shaft are constructed of polygonal masonry.



FIG. III.—Interior of the Cave in which is Spring of Asclepieum.

Some scholars suppose that this was originally a well, but we incline with others to the opinion that it was a sacrificial pit (161). The colonnade was doubtless intended for the use of the patients who slept here in expectation of receiving revelations in dreams. The *Plutus* (659 ff.) of Aristophanes gives an instructive description of an invalid's visit to the shrine of the god, and how the healing was effected.

The plan shows the location of the foundations (11) of an altar. Dörpfeld points out the step on which the celebrant stood facing towards the east. On this site apparently a Christian church was built in the Byzantine period. Some eighteen yards to the west are seen the foundations of a small temple (20) which is commonly held to be the shrine of Asclepius (162). These foundations are built partly of poros and partly of conglomerate, and showed a structure 10.50 metres ( $34\frac{1}{2}$  ft.) long and six (20 ft.) broad. A vestibule or pronaos seems to have been added later.

On the middle terrace, which is somewhat smaller and lies about two and a half feet higher than the eastern, are seen the foundations of a building 28 metres (91 ft. 10 in.) long from east to west and 14 metres (46 ft.) wide from north to south. The northern half of this building adjacent to the Acropolis rock contained a row of four square chambers of equal size paved with small round pebbles, some of which are still *in situ*. The southern half of the building was a colonnade open to the south but closed at the ends. The foundation of poros and two steps of Hymettian marble at the southwest corner, and the base of the westernmost column are preserved. The columns were of the Ionic order, to judge from this base. This building was probably the dwelling of the officials of the temple. It is inferior in style to the colonnade on the eastern terrace and appears to have been built not earlier than the second century B.C. A few steps west of the building just described and to the south of a cistern (28) are the foundations of what appears to have been a temple *in antis* (29) built of Kará limestone and of poros. It fronts southeast and appears to belong to a good period of Athenian architecture. Ulrich Köhler (22), Milchhöfer, and others hold that this was the temple of Themis mentioned by Pausanias (i. 22, 1) as situated on the way from the sanctuary of Asclepius to the Acropolis. Dörpfeld puts the Themis temple as well as the monument of Hippolytus and the shrine of Aphrodite farther west on the next terrace. Adjacent to the west are the ruins of another small building (30) made up of several kinds of stone and roughly put together; we notice particularly the steps of poros and of Hymettian marble with two Ionic bases for marble

antae at the corners and marks of two columns on the upper step. The character of the masonry indicates the late, possibly Roman, origin of this building. Köhler (*A.M.* ii. p. 256) conjectures that these remains belong to a temple of Isis. Beyond these foundations to the west lie the remains of a boundary wall of polygonal masonry (31) which many scholars hold to be the western boundary of the entire precinct or temenos of Asclepius. The southern boundary is formed by a polygonal wall partly preserved (34), in the outer side of which is a block of stone (33), to all appearance in its original position, bearing the inscription  $\text{HOPOΣ KPENEΣ}$ , "boundary of the fountain." The inscription, to judge from the style of the letters, belongs to the second half of the fifth century B.C. The fountain referred to is probably the spring already described, and this boundary stone apparently marked the southwest corner of the precinct of the Asclepieum.

The Asclepieum above described was known as "the sanctuary of Asclepius in the city" to distinguish it from a similar sanctuary in the Peiraeus. Concerning the fortunes of this temple and the history of the cult of this god at Athens we present the chief facts, largely based on the account given by Frazer (*Pausan.* ii. p. 237) and by U. Köhler (*A.M.* ii. p. 258). From the inscriptions that have been found on the spot we learn that the sanctuary was already in existence in the fifth century B.C. There is every reason to believe that the Asclepius cult was introduced into Athens from Epidaurus in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. (163), and that it supplanted the earlier cult of Amynos (164), an ancient hero of the healing art, and of Alcippe a water nymph. Closely connected with this divinity was the cult of Hygieia (*Health*) and of other children of Asclepius. It may be of interest to turn aside and to speak briefly of the sanctuary of the more ancient god of healing Amynos, to whom reference has already been made. This sanctuary is located by Dörpfeld in the hollow between the Pnyx, the Areopagus and the Acropolis, a little to the south of the spot in which Dörpfeld places the sanctuary of Dionysus in the Marshes. The precinct is of quadrangular form, and is enclosed by walls of blue calcareous stone from the Acropolis and neighboring hills. Within the precinct were found a well, foundations of a



small chapel, a part of a sacrificial table decorated with two snakes, and fragments of votive offerings made evidently to Asclepius. An inscription from the early part of the fourth century B.C. shows that Asclepius was here worshipped under the title of Amynos, *i.e.* Protector, but a later inscription proves that Amynos is the cult title of a hero separate from Asclepius. It seems probable that the cult of the new god of healing Asclepius, who was called in from



FIG. 112.—Sculptured Relief, representing Asclepius, Demeter, Kore and Worshippers.

the Peloponnesus shortly after the great plague, was grafted upon the older ritual of the hero Amynos, who in course of time declined as Asclepius grew in popular favor, until at length Amynos was reduced to an adjective and Asclepius outgrew the little precinct on the western slope and had built for him a new and grander sanctuary on the south slope of the Acropolis. Several inscriptions refer to repairs and improvements connected with the Asclepieum and its precinct. But these need not detain us. Of more interest are the inscriptions that record lists of votive offerings dedicated by patients who had been or who hoped to be cured of



ailments of the body. One of these inscriptions dates from about 320 B.C. Among the votive offerings enumerated are representations of the human body and of various parts of it, such as eyes, mouths, ears, breasts, hands, feet, made sometimes of gold or of silver as well as of cheaper material. Small silver and golden serpents are also mentioned, dedicated doubtless to the sacred serpents which had their abode in the sanctuary and were believed to possess healing powers. Another form of votive offering are the sculptured reliefs, which have been found in the precinct (165). Two of these reliefs are represented here by way of illustration. The first



FIG. 113.—Relief representing a Sacrifice to Asclepius and Hygieia.

was found in the Asclepieum and shows the god standing. Behind him sits Demeter accompanied by her daughter Kore who stands behind her and holds torches in her hands. The three gods are approached by six worshippers, the names of five of whom are inscribed below within crowns. The names are doubtless those of the dedicators of the slab.

Another relief shows Asclepius in company with the goddess Hygieia receiving the prayers and offerings of two suppliants. The sacred serpent is coiled about the trunk of a tree. A votive offering of a different sort is a series of three hymns inscribed on a slab of gray marble. The first two hymns consist of prayers addressed to Asclepius by a certain Diophantes, a custodian of the temple who had suffered

agonies from gout and passionately implores the god to restore to him the use of his feet, that he may return on them to the god's golden house, and that "I may behold thee, my god, who art brighter than the earth in spring." The third hymn is a song of thanksgiving to the god for having answered the prayer of his servant who can now walk erect instead of crawling crab-fashion or limping as on thorns. From another inscription it appears that the public physicians of Athens were accustomed to offer a sacrifice twice a year to Asclepius and Hygieia on behalf of their patients and themselves.

The sanctuary of Asclepius at Athens appears to have retained its influence and prestige for a considerable time after the general destruction of the ancient cults and shrines. Especially in philosophic circles and through the related dream-oracle this cult received a new lease of life in the late Roman period. The latest notice of this sanctuary is found in the life of Proclus, written by Marinus, who says that Proclus, who died 485 A.D., took advantage of the proximity of his dwelling to the temple secretly to indulge in the pagan rites of this cult in order not to arouse the persecution of those who were determined to put down all pagan worship. From this statement we may infer that this temple and its appurtenances were destroyed by the fanatical zeal of the Christians about the close of the fifth century A.D., and that they built in place of it a church whose foundations may possibly be identified on the eastern terrace between the altar and the stoa. The sunny and protected situation of this southern terrace of the Acropolis, together with the existence of a spring of water and plenty of building materials from the ruins of ancient structures, doubtless invited private individuals to build their dwellings on this site. This at any rate would account for the abundance of fragments of architecture and of pieces of walls and foundations of late date found in this terrace, and for the existence of the numerous water courses and cisterns within this enclosure.

The oldest views of the Acropolis dating from the seventeenth century show this southern slope uninhabited and waste. The Christian church or churches which were built on the ruins of the old sanctuary of Asclepius must have been

destroyed at some time before this. Köhler conjectures that this entire quarter of the city on the southern slope of the Acropolis was laid waste by the wild hordes of Catalans (166) who sacked Athens in 1311 A.D.

Having described the buildings on the eastern and the middle terraces of the upper slope of the Acropolis, let us now pass on to the westernmost of the three terraces. This terrace was originally included, according to Dörpfeld, in the line of old fortifications known as the Pelargicon (see above, p. 26). From the fact that no important remains of ancient buildings have been found on this terrace, and from inscriptional evidence which refers to planting of trees (Köhler, *l.c.* p. 241, A. 2), it is supposed that here was to be found a sacred grove such as existed also in connection with the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus. The ancient character of this terrace has been greatly changed by the later construction of the theatre of Herodes Atticus, which cut its lower or southern and western parts, and changed the course of the ancient boundary wall. The eastern boundary of this line of fortification, the ancient Pelargicon, as has been stated before (see p. 27), is not wholly certain. It may have been the wall marked 35 in our plan, or it may have included the area between this wall and that marked 31 in the plan. The old path which ran from the Dionysiac theatre to the southwest corner of the Acropolis, directly below the bastion of the Nike temple, has only in part kept its ancient course. The modern path coincides with the ancient at its eastern end, but towards the west the ancient path has been cut off by the building of the theatre of Herodes Atticus.

Where shall we place the shrines which Pausanias (xxii. 1-3) names after leaving the sanctuary of Asclepius? According to the older views the group first named by him, that is the temple of Themis, the monument to Hippolytus, the shrines of Aphrodite Pandemos (*of the people*) and of Peitho lay on the terrace of Asclepius. The objection of Dörpfeld to this view is that no traces of buildings that answer to the age or style of these sanctuaries have been found on this terrace. In favor of this view, however, attention should be called to the fact that the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus



had connected with it a temple to Hippolytus, and shrines to Aphrodite and to Themis, and that there can be little doubt that all these cults came to Athens from Epidaurus together with the Troezenian myth of Theseus (167). An additional argument for locating this group of monuments close to the Asclepieum is drawn from a passage in the *Hippolytus* (30 ff.) of Euripides, which states that a sanctuary of Aphrodite called "in honor of Hippolytus" was erected by Phaedra and describes it as being "beside the Acropolis and in view of Troezen." Now Troezen cannot be seen from a point further west than the middle terrace, the precinct of Asclepius, and since Pausanias says that the mound of Hippolytus is "in front of" the temple of Themis, the conclusion is not an unnatural one that the temple of Themis, the monument to Hippolytus and a shrine of Aphrodite stood in the middle terrace (168). The only point in which this conclusion differs from the old view is that it assumes that the shrine of Aphrodite to which Euripides refers is not that of Aphrodite Pandemos with which Pausanias couples a shrine of Persuasion. The separate character of these two cults of Aphrodite has been pretty clearly established by the discovery of inscriptions (169) in which the titles "Pandemos" and "in honor of Hippolytus" were official designations. It is hardly possible, as Frazer remarks (*Pausan.* ii. p. 246), that the goddess should have borne two distinct official titles at the same shrine. The shrine of Aphrodite to which Euripides refers must then be placed close to the barrow of Hippolytus and the temple of Themis, and must be distinguished from the older temple or shrine of Aphrodite Pandemos which is to be located elsewhere. The evidence for the location of the latter is quite clear. The inscriptions, to which reference has been made above, dealing with the worship of Aphrodite Pandemos were found at the western foot of the Acropolis, between the bastion of the temple of Victory and the southern bastion of Beulé's gate to the Acropolis. On this same site was found a large number of statuettes of Aphrodite pointing, as do the inscriptions, to the proximity of a temple near the southwest corner of the Acropolis. One of the inscriptions, which is dated from the fourth century B.C., is cut on an architrave adorned with a frieze of doves



carrying a fillet. A part of the inscription forms an elegiac couplet :

“This for thee, O great and revered Pandemos Aphrodite,  
We adorn with our statues as gifts.”

The “statues” are those of the dedicators whose names are given in the remaining part of the inscription. This architrave lies at present on the right-hand side of the steps leading up from the Beulé gate, and is believed by Lolling to have belonged to a house for the officials of the temple, but by Dr. Kawerau to a chapel or shrine somewhat of the form of the Thrasyllus monument described above. Probably a little higher up the slope on the way leading up to the gate of the Acropolis are to be located the next group of monuments mentioned by Pausanias, the sanctuaries of Demeter Chloë and of Ge Kourotrophos. That the shrine of the former divinity was near the entrance to the Acropolis appears from a passage in the *Lysistrata* (831 ff.) of Aristophanes, where one of the women who have taken possession of the Acropolis sees a man hurrying up the ascent beside “the sanctuary of the Green Goddess.” The scholiast on the *Oedipus at Colonus* (1600) says: “There is a sanctuary of Demeter Euchloos near the Acropolis” and quotes a passage of Eupolis: “I am going straight to the Acropolis, for I must sacrifice a ram to Green Demeter.” Adjacent to the shrine of Green Demeter must have stood that of the kindred divinity Ge, the Nursing Mother Earth. The worship of this goddess was of ancient origin, and, as we shall see later, was also celebrated on the summit of the Acropolis.

From what has been said above it appears first that the westernmost of the three terraces on the southern slope of the Acropolis was not built upon in ancient days. No traces of ancient buildings, excepting what appear to have been fortification walls, and foundations of later houses have been found, and it seems probable that in the earliest period, at any rate, this space was a part of the old Pelargicon within which it was not lawful to build. It appears also that most of the monuments named by Pausanias after leaving the Asclepieum must be located on the southwestern slope of the Acropolis and not far from its entrance. Not far away and a little

closer to the Acropolis rock Lolling locates the shrine of the hero Aegeus (19 in plan) who threw himself, according to the story in Pausanias (i. xxii. 5), down from the height above and must have fallen on this spot. All that marks the spot now is an artificial niche and a step cut in the Acropolis rock (170).

Before passing to a discussion of the theatre of Herodes Atticus and the great portico which connects it with the theatre of Dionysus known as the Stoa of Eumenes, let us stop for

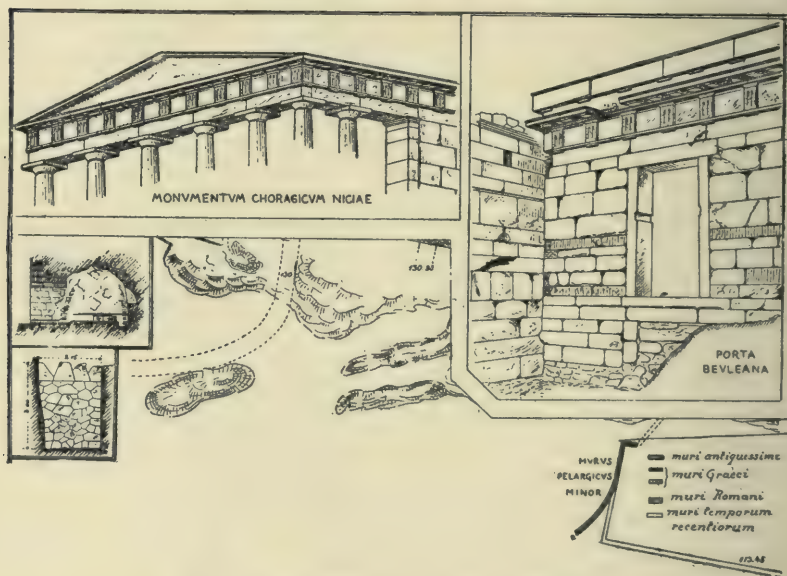


FIG. 114.—Choregic Monument of Nicias. (Restored.)

a moment to notice another structure which once stood on the southwestern slope of the Acropolis, but which was taken down when the theatre was built, and the materials of which were used in part in the construction of the lower gateway of the Acropolis now known as the Beulé gate (see p. 34). The structure referred to is the choregic monument of Nicias, which, according to Dörpfeld, stood on a foundation that has been cut away by the building of the theatre of Herodes Atticus. From what remains of the heavy foundation (41 in plan) Dörpfeld is able to determine the shape of the building, as being somewhat analogous to the monument of Thrasyllus.

Dörpfeld (171) shows that this heavy foundation must have been built as a support to columns approached by steps, and that the material, conglomerate, is the kind used after the fourth century B.C. This fits the time of the monument erected by Nicias, which, from an inscription built into the Beulé gate, we know to have been 319 B.C. In a previous chapter (p. 35) this gate has been discussed and the inscription above referred to is given. From the fragments built into the masonry of the Beulé gate and from others lying about the gate and in close proximity to the bastion of the temple of Victory, Dörpfeld is able to reconstruct the original monument as follows: At the front stood a row of six Doric columns, the dedicatory inscription extending over the three middle intercolumniations. On the sides stood the corner column, a second column, and a closed wall with an anta. Whether there was a rear wall, or whether, like the Thrasyllus monument, the structure had the rock of the Acropolis for its background Dörpfeld leaves undecided, but he leans toward the latter alternative since no corner blocks for the rear wall have been found. The location, however, of the building seems too far away from the Acropolis to lead us to suppose that the building had no rear wall. Dörpfeld points out an interesting architectural correspondence between the façade of the Nicias monument and the west front of the Propylaea, and between the façade of the Thrasyllus monument and the west front of the southwest wing of the Propylaea. The front of each building in the latter case consists of two broad corner pillars with a slender column between, of an architrave having an unbroken row of guttae, and of a frieze without triglyphs. It is an interesting fact that on the same day on which Nicias gained his victory as choregus Thrasyllus was victorious with his chorus. Thus each choregus erected and dedicated, as if in friendly rivalry, a monument to honor the god of the festival and to commemorate his own triumph. The pulling down of this monument was necessitated by the erection of the theatre of Herodes Atticus about 161 A.D. Evidence for this date is incidentally furnished by the mason's marks, as was stated above (p. 34). From Plutarch (*Nicias*, iii.) we learn that Nicias, the general of the Peloponnesian war, dedicated a monument supporting choregic tripods in the precinct



of Dionysus. Since it is well known that Nicias furnished many choruses, we need not suspect any confusion on the part of Plutarch between that monument of the more famous Nicias and this one of the younger period. A few words remain to be said of the painted decoration of this building. When first discovered, the poros blocks of the Doric frieze and the marble cornice showed traces of brilliant blue and red coloring. Since the triglyphs were entirely covered with paint, a dark blue, the cheaper poros was used instead of marble. The metopes were of marble, thin slabs being inserted between the triglyphs in separate grooves.

Perhaps the most conspicuous ruins on the south slope of the Acropolis are those of the Stoa of Eumenes and of the Theatre of Herodes Atticus. In his book on Attica Pausanias makes no mention of these structures. This raises at once the question whether they were in existence when the old traveller wrote his account. Now as regards the date of the theatre we are not left in doubt, for Pausanias (vii. 20, 6) expressly says that when he wrote his description of Athens this theatre was not yet built. But as regards the date of the colonnade the question is not so simple for Pausanias makes no reference to it. U. Köhler (172) with whom Milchhöfer agrees, holds, that the colonnade is of the same date with the Herodes Atticus theatre for the following reasons: The back of the colonnade is exactly in a line with the stage of the Herodes theatre, which favors the theory that the two buildings were planned together. The two buildings communicated by doors in the western end wall of the colonnade, and here the masonry seems to be of the same character. On the theory that both structures belong to the same period the silence of Pausanias in regard to the colonnade is more easily explained. But Dörpfeld has shown good grounds for dissenting from this view and for assigning an earlier date to the colonnade. These grounds are briefly the following: The walls of the theatre where they exceed a certain thickness are regularly constructed of a core of small stones and mortar (*opus incertum*), with an outer facing of Peiraic limestone. This style of masonry is not found in the colonnade, which is constructed of conglomerate limestone and Hymettian marble, materials which were employed at Athens in the pre-Roman or Hellenistic period.



Furthermore, the junction of the colonnade with the theatre shows that these buildings could not have been built by the same architect. This is especially clear when we look at the double wall between the two buildings: the eastern part, which is apparently of the same period as the portico, is built of poros and marble, while the western part consists of poros blocks with a core of rubble. We should not fail to notice also how this cross-wall cuts off a part of an arch,—a serious architectural blunder if the two structures were planned at the same time. The two doors in this wall were probably cut through after the theatre had been built; at any rate, their present lining belongs to the Roman period. The belief that this stoa was built by Eumenes rests in part upon the statement of Vitruvius (v. 9, 1), who says that the colonnade of Eumenes was situated near the theatre of Dionysus, and was used as a shelter by the spectators whenever a sudden shower of rain drove them from the open theatre. The Eumenes at whose expense this stoa was built was probably Eumenes II., king of Pergamon, 197-159 B.C., who erected a similar structure in Pergamon. Without further discussion of the date, let us consider the character of this structure. It consists of a double colonnade 163 metres (534 ft.) long and a little more than 16 metres (52 ft. 6 in.) deep. As already intimated, it had two rows of columns, one along the outer side and forming the façade, the other down the middle. The outer row was Doric, the inner may have been Ionic. Near the east end there are traces of what appears to have been an ornamental portico or gateway. The details of the superstructure cannot be determined. That the building had a second story is certain. Access to the colonnade was at the front by means of three steps. The foundations of the outer side, the square foundations of the inner row of columns, and the side and back walls up to a certain height are preserved. At its eastern end the colonnade (and with it the retaining wall of the terrace) stops about 10 metres (33 ft.) short of the theatre of Dionysus; at this point it was terminated by a side wall. The rear of the colonnade was built up as follows: Three walls lying one behind the other bound the entire length of the stoa: (1) the hindmost wall, built up against the terrace and constructed of conglomerate; (2) the second wall, also of conglomerate, and carrying more than forty arches; (3) an

ornamental wall built of Peiraic limestone, probably covered with stucco and tinted, with a dado five feet three inches high of Hymettian marble, and a projecting marble moulding which produces the effect of a cornice. Above the arches lie a number of blocks behind which the retaining wall must have risen several courses higher. The arches are of unequal height and rise toward the centre, thus describing a curve conformable to the surface line of the terrace. These arches were used only constructively to bind together the buttresses that held up the retaining wall, and were concealed by the casing built as an ornamental front.

During the middle ages these walls suffered serious injury. The upper portion fell down and was rebuilt, probably in the twelfth century, when seven heavy buttresses were erected to support the rebuilt masonry. Parts of two of these buttresses are still left, near the theatre of Herodes, the others having been torn down with a view to securing inscribed stones that were supposed to have been built into them. In its original state this colonnade cannot fail to have produced an impression of dignity and grandeur, and to have afforded a suitable setting to the array of temples and shrines that stood above it on the higher terraces.

The Theatre of Herodes Atticus, or Odeum of Regilla as it is often called, was built by Herodes Atticus in memory of his wife Appia Annia Regilla, who died about 160 A.D. Pausanias (vii. 20, 6) tells us that in size and magnificence it surpassed the Odeum at Patrae, which was otherwise unrivalled in Greece. Another writer, Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* ii. 1, 5), says that it had a roof of cedar wood, and was far superior to the Odeum which Herodes built at Corinth.

The Odeum, as we shall call it, was the last edifice of any size and importance, so far as is known, that was erected in ancient Athens. In the Byzantine and Frankish periods it was often mistaken for the theatre of Dionysus (173). The English traveller Chandler was the first to give the building its true name. The interior, buried for a long time under a heavy accumulation of soil, was thoroughly excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1857-58. From the large quantity of ashes found in the course of these excavations it is evident that the Odeum must have been partially destroyed by fire. After this fire the

building appears to have suffered but little change. In the Frankish period its massive walls were included in the circuit of the fortifications at the base of the Acropolis. Stuart and Revett saw what remained of the building incorporated in the line of Frankish fortifications and were allowed to make a hasty sketch of what they supposed was the Dionysiac theatre.



FIG. 115.—South Walls of the Theatre of Herodes Atticus. At the east joined by the walls of the Stoa of Eumenes.

The Odeum (174) is a characteristic monument of the last period in the history of Athenian buildings. Roman though it is in plan and construction, it conforms to Greek ideas in its general outline, combining the two Greek architectural forms of the covered music hall and of the theatre built into the side of a hill.

Above the semi-circular orchestra rise, tier above tier, on the rocky slope the seats of the auditorium. This measures about 80 metres (262 ft.) across, and was enclosed by a massive wall of limestone rising high above it, which, strengthened by buttresses on its eastern side, supported the weight of the cedar roof which rested upon it. Within this space there ran two broad aisles (*diazomata*), the upper one (*II*) along the



enclosing wall, the lower one dividing the body of seats into two zones, a lower zone having 20 rows and an upper zone having 13, the whole capable of seating about 5000 spectators (175). Flights of steps cut into the rock and running transversely up from the orchestra divide the seats into wedge-shaped sections (*cunei*), the lower zone into five, the upper zone



FIG. 116.—The Theatre of Herodes Atticus. Auditorium and Orchestra.

into ten sections. The rows of seats were faced at their ends or in profile with slabs of marble, and the seats were covered with Pentelic marble blocks, many of which are still seen *in situ*. Each row of benches shows a finely worked front with a depression behind it, by which the occupants of the row above could pass to their seats without disturbing those who sat in the next row below or treading on their garments as they passed by. The front row, in which the dignitaries sat, was provided with backs and at the end with arms which were finished off at the bottom to resemble lion's claws. The orchestra, measuring about 18.80 metres (62 ft.) in breadth is a trifle larger than a semi-circle, and is paved with square



pieces of dark marble, varied with pieces of yellow marble. From each side of the orchestra a passage, similarly paved and veneered with thin marble slabs, led past the end of the stage,



FIG. 117.—Interior of Theatre of Herodes Atticus, showing Front Wall and Stage.

and by means of eight steps to a doorway which opened into a vestibule from which one passed into the open air. The stage, which was about 35 metres (116 ft.) in breadth, 8 metres (26 ft.) deep, and 1.50 metres (5 ft.) high, was connected with

the orchestra by means of two stairways five steps high; but only three steps of the eastern stairway remain. The massive wall at the back of the stage is preserved to a height of two stories throughout, and in some places a third story remains. The two upper stories show rows of arched windows. This wall was pierced at the level of the stage with three stage doors and contains eight niches for statues. There was also an entrance to the stage through each of the side scenes. At each end of the stage, between pilasters which separate the side entrance to the stage from that which leads into the orchestra, there is a niche in the wall for a statue. A heavy foundation wall lying in front of and parallel with the back wall of the stage appears to have supported a row of pillars which extended across the stage and about six feet in front of the rear wall, and formed, as in the case of all Roman theatres, the *proscenium*. We still see a row of holes cut into the back wall, at a height of about 16 feet above the stage, into which the stone *architraves* of the *proscenium* were fitted. Probably upon this first or lower *proscenium* stood another row of columns, open towards the auditorium, in front of the seven arched windows of the second story, the central one of which, however, is closed. In this closed window there is a small chamber the purpose of which is not known. This second or upper story of the stage was in all probability a survival of the Greek *theologeion*, that is, the place where the gods and other beings of the sky and air made their appearance.

In line with the stage, and in close connection with it, are the two wings—*parascenia*—of the stage-building, each of which had two vestibules—an upper and a lower one—through which access was gained by means of stairways to the *cavea* and the upper floors of the building. From the upper western vestibule a door gave access to the terrace above the theatre, and so to the path that led to the entrance to the Acropolis. In this way a kind of substitute was provided for the old path to the Acropolis from the east, which had been obliterated by the building of the Odeum. The construction of the roof, the material of which was cedar, is almost entirely a matter of pure conjecture. Tuckermann's ingenious reconstruction is indicated in part in the cut taken from his work. It rose about 26 metres

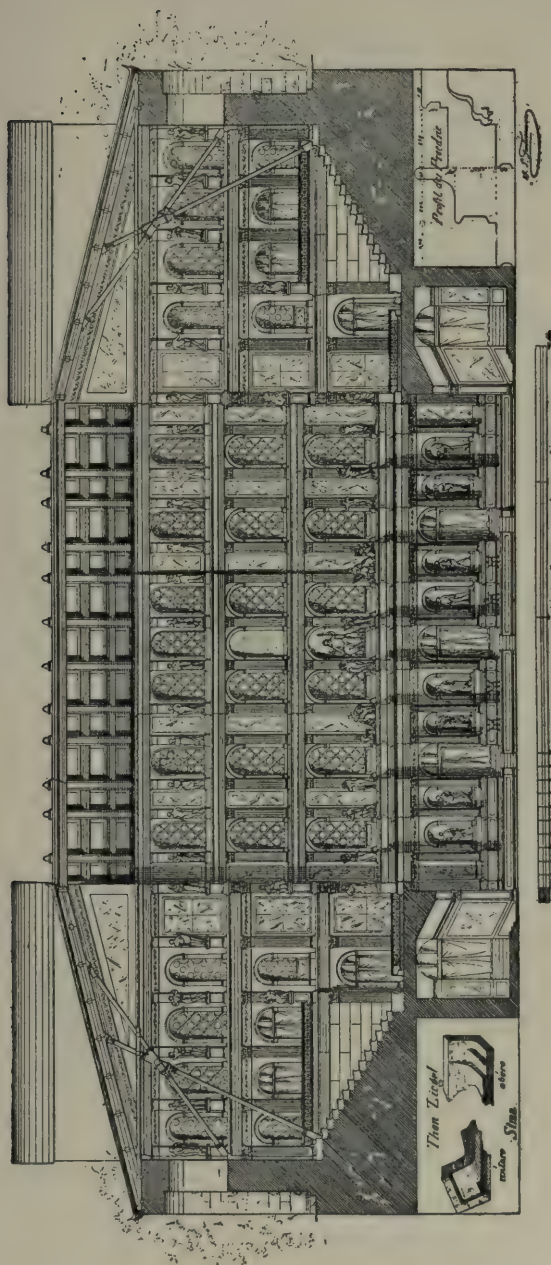


FIG. 118.—Cross-section of Theatre of Herodes Atticus and Front View, as drawn by Tuckermann.



( $85\frac{1}{3}$  ft.) above the pavement, and was supported by eight trusses which converged towards the stage. In the centre of the roof was probably an opening (*ὀπταῖον*) or skylight directly above the orchestra.

In order to give the reader a better idea of this building we reproduce the following cut taken from Tuckermann,

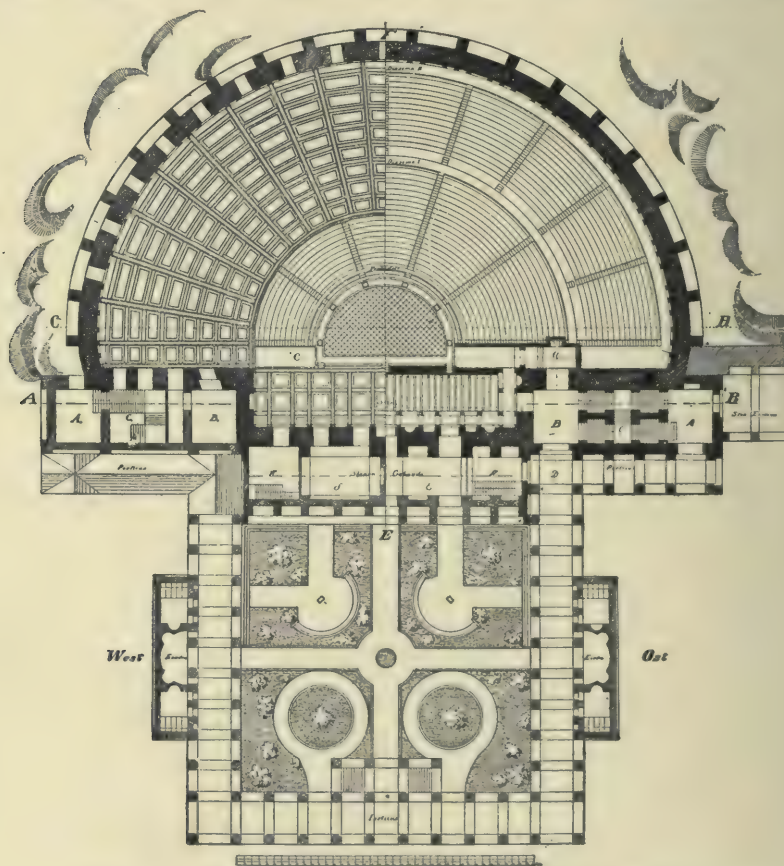


FIG. 119.—Interior Plan of Theatre of Herodes Atticus, drawn by Tuckermann.

showing the original plan of the Odeum in two halves. The right hand or eastern half presents the plan of the building on the ground floor—the left hand, or western half, that on the first story. In the latter a projection of the ceiling is shown in the cavea and on the stage. The doubly-hatched



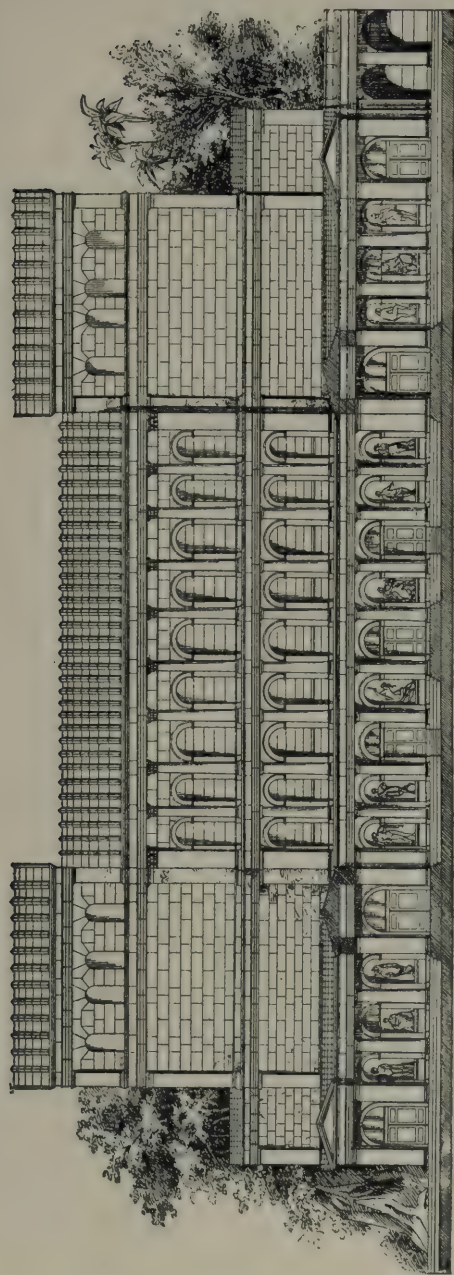


FIG. 120.—Façade of the Theatre of Herodes Atticus, drawn by Tuckermann.

portions indicate those parts that are still preserved or are attested by authentic drawings, as, *e.g.*, by those of Stuart. The letters in the plan either refer to the axes of the sections drawn in the plan or indicate the various parts of the building as follows:—*A, B*=vestibules to which *A<sub>1</sub>, B<sub>1</sub>* on the next story correspond; *C*=the stairway to the first zone of seats; *C<sub>1</sub>*=the corresponding stairway to the second zone; *D*=the portico to the south; *E*=the hall on the ground floor of the stage-building; *F*=the hall on the floor above; finally, *G*=the open part of the parodoi, while *G<sub>1</sub>*=the part covered with a vaulted ceiling.

The restoration of the façade, taken from Tuckermann and shown in the accompanying cut, is conjectural. The connection of the two wings with the central building and the construction of their roof cannot be determined. The only point that seems pretty certain is that the wings were higher than the central structure, as is shown in the cut, and as appears from what remains of the building. The main part of the structure appears to have had three entrances at the front, which served as approaches to a portico and to ante-chambers, which extended across the entire width of the main building. Each wing appears to have had two front entrances and a side entrance, the door next to the main structure giving access to the corridors of the parodoi (passageways into the orchestra), while the other four doors led to the upper row of seats. The present entrance is by the westernmost of the three doorways, which opens into a vestibule. In this entrance is a niche, which contains the statue of a Roman magistrate.

The walls that enclose the parodoi contain niches in which may have been placed statues of Herodes and Regilla.

From what has been preserved of this once beautiful structure, as well as from the admiration with which Pausanias refers to it, we are warranted in believing that it must have been in its day one of the most brilliant and impressive buildings of the ancient city. In spite of the destruction that has been wrought, we can still picture to ourselves its beautiful interior, with its roof of cedar, its marble seats, its walls veneered with marble slabs, its richly decorated stage, and its corridors and vestibules adorned with statues and mosaics and painted decorations.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE ACROPOLIS IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS. THE DESCRIPTIVE TOUR OF PAUSANIAS ON THE ACROPOLIS

" Then there came forth, appearing like a statue,  
Pallas; a spear she shook with crested helm."

*Eur. Herc. Fur.* 1002.

THE period extending from the time of the rule of Alexander the Great down to the fall of the Roman Empire, stormy and destructive of the monuments of ancient days as it was, saw less havoc wrought to the temples and shrines upon the Acropolis than one would be led to fear. A certain reverence for the patron divinity of Athens and her shrines on the sacred rock seems to have checked the violent hand of even such a ruthless conqueror as Sulla, and the city of Athens, after having escaped serious injury at the hands of the successors of Alexander, became an object of favor to the kings of Pergamon, to the Ptolemies of Egypt, and to some of the Roman Emperors. To be sure, the monuments on the Acropolis did not escape wholly uninjured. Pausanias (i. xxv, 7) tells us that Lachares carried off golden shields from the Acropolis, and stript the image of the goddess of all its golden ornaments. And Demetrius Poliorcetes, so Plutarch informs us, celebrated his disgraceful orgies in the apartments of the maiden goddess. Of the Roman emperors Nero alone despoiled Athens, though even he seems to have spared the most sacred shrines, since Pausanias subsequently found them still occupying their ancient places. With the death of Marcus Aurelius the building period in the history of Athens is practically closed, unless we include

in it the measures taken by Septimius Severus to make the Acropolis a fortification, and extend the period to embrace also the erection of the bulwarks erected by one Flavius Septimius Marcellinus in the third century A.D.

To the later Hellenistic and the Roman periods belong some of the buildings located on the southern slope of the Acropolis, which have been described in the foregoing chapter. To these periods belong also many of the monuments found on the Acropolis itself, to which now we must turn our attention. As a matter of convenience we shall here again follow the order pursued by Pausanias and include in our account all the monuments of whatever period to which he refers, so far as they have not already occupied our attention in the preceding chapters.

After mentioning the entrance to the Acropolis Pausanias speaks of the Propylaea, already described in our fourth chapter, without making any reference to the statue of Agrippa which must have been a conspicuous object at his left as he ascended the slope.

The quadrangular base which supported the statue still remains immediately to the west of the north-west wing of the Propylaea and opposite the temple of Wingless Victory. It stands on a square foundation of limestone, measuring 3.31 metres (10 ft. 10 in.) on the front, 3.80 metres ( $12\frac{1}{2}$  ft.) on the side, and 4.5 metres (14 ft. 9 in.) high. Two steps make the transition from this lower base to the pedestal proper, which is faced with Hymettian marble and rises slightly tapering 8.9 metres (29 ft. 2 in.) above the bases. A simple cornice of white marble crowns the whole. The inscription on the west side of the pedestal reads thus: "The people [set up] Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, thrice consul, their own benefactor" (*C.I.A.* iii. 575). Since Agrippa was consul for the third time in 27 B.C. the statue must have been erected between that year and 12 B.C., the date of Agrippa's death. The marks on the top of the pedestal indicate that Agrippa was represented in a chariot drawn by four horses. When this monument, which was doubtless of bronze, was destroyed or pillaged is unknown. It is to be observed (see plan) that the orientation of the base is not quite the same as that of the great Roman stairway.



That Pausanias should have omitted to mention this conspicuous monument is all the more remarkable when we consider the full and detailed account of his route among the monuments that lined his path on the Acropolis. But a similar important omission occurs in the case of the temple of Roma and Augustus built on the Acropolis about the same time as the Agrippa monument. At the time of the building of these monuments the Acropolis appears to have been the object of a revival of interest on the part of the Roman emperors, particularly of Augustus, who, together with his son-in-law Agrippa, seems to have been instrumental in merging the Panathenaic festivals and the festivals in honor of the Roman emperors together (176). It is probable that also about this time the great Roman stairway was built, and that Agrippa had taken some part in this reconstruction. From this period also date new regulations for a more careful guard of the entrance to the Acropolis, indicated by the so-called "Akrophylakes" and "Pyloroi," who, according to an inscription (*C.I.A.* iii. 159) erected an altar to Apollo Agyieus close to the base of the Agrippa monument. Higher up the slope and on the projecting foundation walls of the wings of the Propylaea, on each side of the stairway, Pausanias saw facing each other the statues of two horsemen of which he says that he was not sure whether they represented the sons of Xenophon or were merely decorative. From the portions of the inscribed bases and the pedestals of these statues that have been found, we now know that Pausanias was mistaken in connecting these statues with the sons of Xenophon the historian. The inscribed base and pedestal of the statue which stood on the south side of the ascent have been placed in their original relation to the walls of the Propylaea. The pedestal consists of a number of blocks of Pentelic marble, surmounted by a slab of Hymettian marble. On its upper and lower surfaces this slab of marble bears marks which show that each of these supported a statue at different times, but the marks on the two surfaces are so different that they cannot be those of the same statue. On each of the two longer of the narrow sides of the slab the following inscription is carved: "The cavalry [dedicated this out of the spoils which they took] from the enemy when Lacedaemonius, Xenophon, and Pronapes were cavalry colonels.

Lycius of Eleutherae, son of Myron, made [this statue]." But this inscription reads a different way up on the two sides of the slab (Fig. 121). From these facts it appears that the statue which stood on this slab was at some time taken down, the slab reversed, a different statue later placed on it, and the

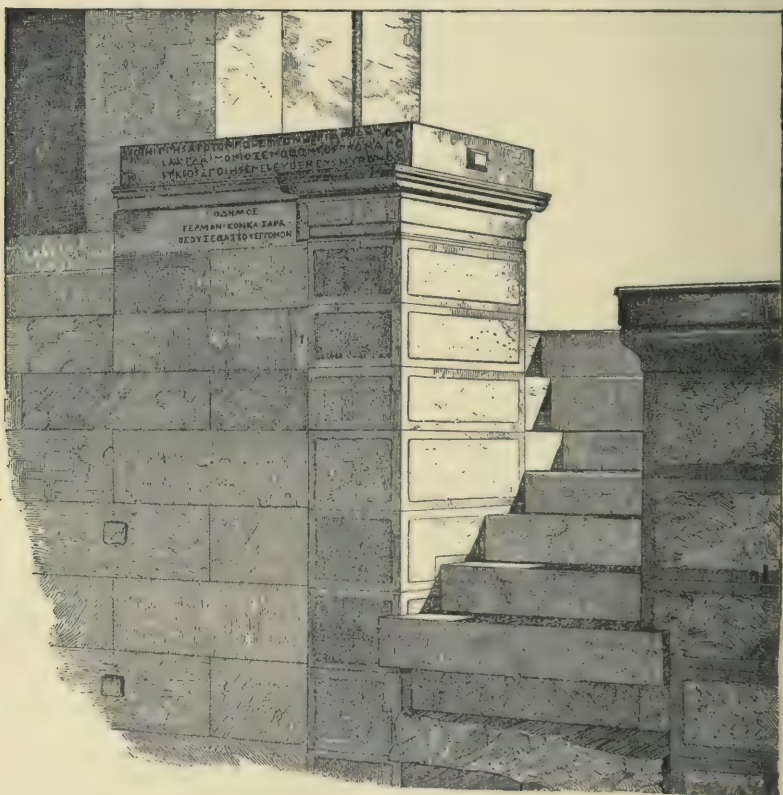


FIG. 121.—Inscribed Pedestal on Wall flanking Stairway of Propylaea.

same inscription was carved, the other way up, on the side opposite to that which bore the original inscription. The original statues cannot have been set up on this site later than 437 B.C., about the time when the Propylaea was begun, since the two pedestals which supported them form integral parts of the coping of the walls. But that this is not the original site of these statues has been shown by Lolling (177), who believes that they stood first on the slope of the Acropolis and were

later removed to the position in which Pausanias saw them. In the opinion of Lolling they were set up to commemorate the conquest of Euboea in 446 B.C. and the Xenophon referred to in the inscription is the cavalry officer mentioned by Thucydides (ii. 70) in connection with the siege of Potidaea. From the form of the letters and the use of Hymettian marble Lolling inferred that the inscription now extant is a later copy of the original. This copy, however, cannot be dated by these criteria; it may have been made at the same time that these statues were removed from their original place to the Propylaea.

The southern one of the two statues was, as we have seen, a later copy of the original, and was, of course, the one that Pausanias describes. But in the pedestal which supported this statue there is a block of Pentelic marble below the slab of Hymettian marble that bears a later inscription, which reads as follows:—"The people [dedicated this statue of] Germanicus Caesar, descendant of the divine Augustus." From this it appears that the statue of the horseman on the pedestal was converted (a practice only too common in Roman times) into a statue of Germanicus, probably in 18 A.D., when he visited Athens and was received with great honors. Pausanias either overlooked or purposely disregarded this later inscription.

As Pausanias proceeds on his way he comes to the portico itself of the Propylaea, and speaks of seeing there figures of Hermes and the Graces, which "are said to have been made by Socrates [the philosopher], the son of Sophroniscus." This statement has given rise to a good deal of discussion, especially in connection with other statements of Pausanias (ix. 35, 3, 7) to the effect that these figures were draped, and that a secret rite was performed beside the three figures of the Graces before the entrance to the Acropolis. With this discussion there is intimately connected the other question of the origin and interpretation of several ancient reliefs, one of which is in the Museo Chiaramonti, and represents three women hand in hand moving to the spectator's left, clothed in garments reaching to the feet. This relief is probably a copy of some celebrated original which stood on the Acropolis, and which may have been the group of Graces assigned by tradition to Socrates. The other relief is one lately found on the Acropolis not far from the



Propylaea, representing the three Graces clothed in tight-fitting tunics and twilled petticoats, also striding hand in hand to the spectator's left. At the head of the group walks a man in a loose robe, with his left arm raised. He seems to be represented as playing a flute, but the relief is too imperfectly preserved to be sure of that. The style of the relief is archaic enough to be dated in the sixth century B.C. From the style of both reliefs it is quite clear that neither could have been the work of Socrates, the well-known philosopher.



FIG. 122.—Archaic Relief of the Graces.

It may be that the sculptor of the original relief bore the name of Socrates, and was confused by the people with the son of Sophroniscus, who in youth was a statuary, or that the philosopher did really execute a copy of such a relief to be set up as a votive offering, and that this is the source of the tradition handed down by Pausanias. That the Graces had an ancient cult and shrine on the Acropolis is evident from the statement of Pausanias, but where to place it is not so clear. Pausanias, it will be observed, couples the Hermes of the Portal with the Graces as being "just at the entrance." But elsewhere (ix. 35, 7) he says that the Graces were "in front of the entrance to the Acropolis," and that the Athenians performed a secret rite beside them. This seems to point to a



separate sanctuary in which these mystic rites were observed. Now, from an inscription in the theatre of Dionysus (*C.I.A.* iii. 268), it appears that there was an image of a "fire-bearing priest" of the Graces, and of an "Artemis on the Tower" (*ἐπιπυργιδία*), and this Artemis is probably identical with the "Hecate on the Tower," whose image, according to Pausanias, stood beside the Temple of Victory (*Paus.* ii. 30, 2). Since then the position of the Artemis-Hecate image upon the Tower is distinctly indicated, Frazer concludes that the sanctuary of the Graces must have stood in the corner immediately to the east of the Temple of Victory and to the south of the south-western wing of the Propylaea (178). That the "Hermes of the Portal" was a separate image seems most probable. Its position is conjectured by Frazer to have been at the north-west corner of the central building of the Propylaea, in the niche formed by the *anta* of the central building on the one side and the projecting wall and *anta* of the north-west wing on the other side. But, according to this view, this image would be too far away from the statues of the Graces; and it seems more likely that Miss Harrison (179) is correct in locating the image of this Hermes in a niche between the central building of the Propylaea and the eastern *anta* of the south west wing, *i.e.* in close proximity to the shrine of the Graces. This position explains an epithet applied to a Hermes on the Acropolis who bore the name of "the Uninitiated One" (*ἀμύητος*) (180). For this Hermes, though he stood so near the sanctuary of the Graces in which mystic rites were celebrated, was excluded from these mysteries. It is of interest in this connection to know that at Pergamon an inscribed herm attributed to Alcamenes has recently been found, which Conze (181) believes to be a copy of the Athenian Hermes Propylaeus. Its style, however, is earlier than the time of the Mnesiclean Propylaea.

To the right and left of the main passage, and chiefly within the eastern portico, probably stood the other statues named by Pausanias. The position of the statues of Pericles and of the Lemnian Athena and of the bronze chariot group to commemorate the victory of the Athenians over the Boeotians and Chalcidians we shall discuss later.

The casual remark of Pausanias that "near the statue of

Diitrephes (for I do not wish to mention the obscure statues), are images of gods," suggests at once that within the precinct of the Acropolis numerous statues and shrines bore witness to the piety and patriotism of the Athenians. Of many of these shrines and statues only the pedestals and foundations remain, and of many others not even a trace has been preserved. One of the most interesting of these pedestals that once supported statues is that which is often connected with the bronze statue of Diitrephes, whose body was pierced with arrows. This basis, originally found in the wall of a large cistern

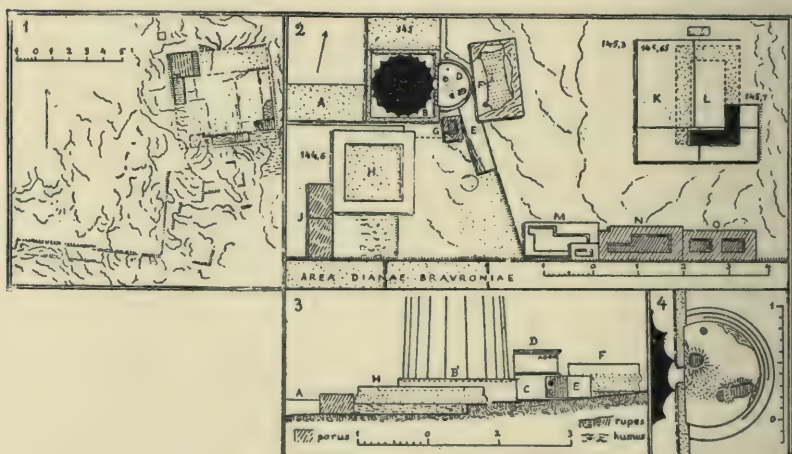


FIG. 123.—Precinct of Athena Hygieia.

in front of the west end of the Parthenon, now lies a few yards to the east of the terrace immediately in front of the rock-cut steps leading up to the plateau of the Parthenon. It is a square block of Pentelic marble, on the top of which are two square holes for fastening a statue, and on its front face is the following inscription: "Hermolycus, son of Diitrephes [dedicated this as] a first fruit. Cresilas made it" (182). Pliny tells us (*N.H.* xxxiv. 74) that Cresilas made a statue representing a wounded man swooning away. That this statue described by Pliny is the one mentioned by Pausanias in the text and that it stood on the pedestal which bears this inscription is to be doubted, since the epigraphy is too early for the date of Diitrephes, who, Pausanias says, was the Athenian

general that captured Mycalessus, an event that occurred in 414/13 B.C., and that is mentioned also by Thucydides (vii. 29). Another interesting pedestal is that which stands just outside of the eastern portico of the Propylaea opposite to and almost abutting on the southern column of the portico. From the cut (Fig. 123) its location may be seen at a glance and its relation to other remains of votive offerings and altars in honor of Athena Hygieia.

To explain the cut before we discuss these remains :

*A* = the stylobate of the Propylaea.

*B* = the southern column.

*D* = the pedestal of the statue of Athena Hygieia.

*E* = a marble sill.

*F* = a marble base of a sacrificial table.

*G* = a small base of poros for a votive offering.

*H* = a large marble base for a statue.

*K* = foundation of the altar *L* of Athena Hygieia.

*MNO* = bases of votive offerings.

On the front of the pedestal is cut the following inscription: "The Athenians dedicated [this image] to Health Athena. Pyrrhus, an Athenian, made [the image]" (183). From the style of the letters the inscription dates from about 429 B.C. The story of the dedication of the image Plutarch (*Pericles*, 13) tells as follows: While the great portal of the Acropolis was building "the most active and zealous of the workmen fell from a height and was badly hurt, the doctors despairing of his life. Pericles was cast down at the mishap, but the goddess appeared to him in a dream and ordered him to adopt a certain treatment by following which he soon and easily cured the man. For this he set up the bronze image of Health Athena on the Acropolis beside the altar, which, they say, had existed previously." The inscription shows, however, that the Athenians and not Pericles dedicated this statue, and from the account given by Pliny (*N.H.* xxii. 44) it appears that this accident occurred in connection with the building of the Parthenon, and that an image was erected not to Health Athena, but to the unlucky workman, and that his statue was known as the *Splanchnoptes* "roaster of entrails." These inconsistencies in the versions of the story lead Professor Wolters to the conclusion that tradition as represented by



Plutarch's story wrongly transferred this incident from the Parthenon to the Propylaea, and made it the occasion of dedicating the statue of Health Athena, which he believes was set up about 429 B.C., to commemorate the cessation of the great plague. On the top of the pedestal are two marks showing where the feet of the statue stood ; from these marks it appears that the statue faced northeast and rested on the right foot, with the left thrown a good deal back. With regard to the other bases and blocks of marble closely connected with this pedestal the following statement, condensed from Frazer, must suffice: The large block of marble abutting on the pedestal of Health Athena and designated on the plan as *F* has four holes on the top which show that it supported a table or altar. As this block rests on an accumulation of soil at a higher level than the base or step which supports the pedestal of Health Athena it is probable that the altar was erected later than the statue. The inscription shows that the statue was set up originally as a votive offering, and Wolters (184) is doubtless right in supposing that at a later period this conception became changed in the popular mind and the statue came to be looked upon as a cult image, which was then honored with sacrifices for which this sacrificial table was set up. The other block (marked *E* in the cut) is probably, as Bohn has suggested, the remnant of a row of similar blocks intended to keep the rain-water from flowing into the corner between the Propylaea and the precinct of the Brauronian Artemis. This dam formed by the row of marble blocks diverted the water from this corner and caused it to flow along the front of the eastern portico of the Propylaea to the ancient channel that runs through the central gateway. Ancient authorities and inscriptions refer to a worship of Athena Hygieia on the Acropolis, and the antiquity of this worship is attested by the fragment of a red-figured vase found on the Acropolis and inscribed with a dedication to "Health Athena" which dates from the sixth century B.C. Since the statue that stood on the pedestal of Health Athena made by Pyrrhus was originally, as we have seen, a votive offering, we must look for a cult statue of this goddess elsewhere on the Acropolis. That such a cult statue and altar existed cannot be doubted. Aristides says (Dindorf, *Or. II.* vol. i. p. 22) that the most ancient of the Athenians



founded an altar of "Health Athena." The marble foundation of this altar has been recognized with great probability in a quadrangular platform (*K*) 2.60 metres (8 ft. 6 in.) square, that lies about twelve feet east of the pedestal of Health Athena. From the position of the altar, nearer the eastern than the western side of the platform, it appears that the priest stood on the western side of it facing east. This shows that the cult statue of the goddess must have stood to the east of the altar and therefore cannot have been the statue made by Pyrrhus, for otherwise the priest in sacrificing would have stood with his back to the goddess. Possibly certain cuttings in the surface of the rock to the east of this altar may indicate the location of the original cult statue of Athena Hygieia.

After mentioning the image of Health Athena Pausanias leaves the Propylaea and sets out on his tour around the Acropolis.

It will be remembered that the older road on the Acropolis ran northeast, in the same line as the axis of the old pre-Persian Propylon, along the north side of the old Athena Temple, and close to the sacred tokens enclosed by the ancient Erechtheum. Only when the new Propylaea and the Parthenon were built was the road laid farther south on a somewhat higher level, and then was the rock cut as we see it at our right on going through the Propylaea. The grooves or ruts cut in the rock served partly to conduct the water from the higher level to the drain or channel that ran diagonally in front of the portico of the Propylaea, and also to make the ascent more easy. In many places also are to be seen cuttings in the rock to receive the bases of votive offerings. At the right hand, as we proceed, we observe traces of an ancient path leading, by means of eight small steps cut into the native rock, up to a terrace. The northern boundary of this upper terrace was made by the hewing away of the rock so as to present a perpendicular face from below. This stairway is flanked on both sides by cuttings in the rock for receiving statues and other votive offerings. Among these was probably the bronze statue of the boy with the sprinkler or basin containing holy water mentioned by Pausanias. As it was customary for the worshipper to sprinkle himself before

entering a sanctuary, it is likely that this statue served this practical purpose at or near the entrance to the sacred precinct, which lay at the top of the scarped rock. The terrace now before us is the lowest and westernmost of the three terraces which made up the south-western portion of the Acropolis lying between the Propylaea and the Parthenon. It is now generally held that on this terrace lay the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia. As no mention is made in the ancient writers and inscriptions of a temple of Brauronian Artemis on the Acropolis, and no foundations of a temple have been found

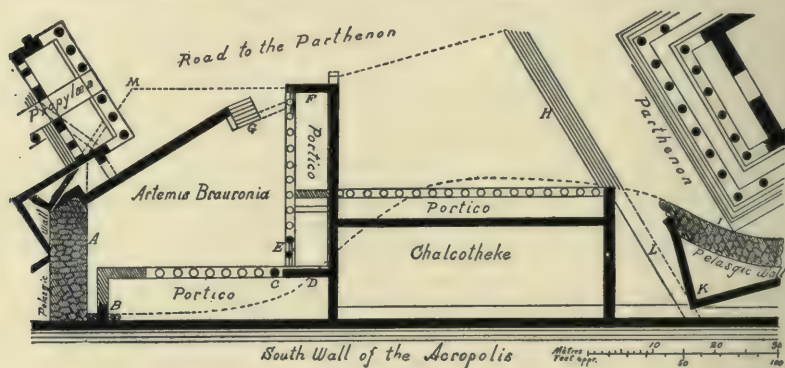


FIG. 124. — Plan showing location of several precincts and buildings between Propylaea and Parthenon.

within the precinct, it seems likely that this sanctuary was merely a sacred enclosure with an altar. This enclosure is bounded at the west by the old Pelasgic wall already frequently mentioned, on the south by the outer wall of the Acropolis, on the north by the line of the scarped rock (originally, perhaps, built up higher by a coping) mentioned before, and on the east by another line of rock cutting which bounds the higher but smaller terrace lying to the east. The terrace thus bounded has the shape of an irregular quadrangle, and is about 48 metres (157 ft.) long from east to west. On the east and south this precinct was enclosed and adorned by means of colonnades, the foundations of which are clearly to be traced (185). The east hall is about 29 metres (95 ft. 2 in.) long and 6 metres (19 ft. 8 in.) deep, while the south hall is about 37 metres (121 ft. 5 in.) long and 8 metres (26 ft. 3 in.) deep. Both had rows of columns in front facing

the precinct, but were enclosed wholly, or in part, at the ends. These halls served as repositories of votive offerings, and possibly the cult image of Artemis stood in one of them. The traces of votive statues standing in the open air are to be seen at the northwest corner. In front of the Pelasgic wall at the west lie the ruins of what appears to have been a very ancient dwelling.

The cult of Artemis Brauronia (186) was introduced from Brauron, in Attica, whither the old image, according to the story told by Euripides in his *Iphigenia in Tauris*, had been carried from the Crimea. From inscriptions containing lists of the treasures in the sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis it appears that in 346 B.C. there were two images of the goddess in the sanctuary—one an old one, probably of stone, and a new one, whether of bronze or of gold and ivory is not known. This Artemis was especially worshipped by girls before marriage and by women after child-birth. Many and costly garments were dedicated to this divinity, and actually worn by the image. Strange rites were observed in this worship, among which was dancing by little girls dressed in bear-skins. The "bear service" connected with Artemis Brauronia is referred to by Aristophanes (*Lysistrata*, 641-44), in which the chorus of women rehearse the benefits they have received from the State, and tell how they were reared at its expense: "When I was seven years old I became an *arrephoros*; then, when I was ten I was grinder to the Sovereign Lady; then, wearing the saffron robe, I was a bear (*ἄρκτος*) in the Brauronian festival." An interesting find on the Acropolis is a marble statuette of a bear seated on its haunches. That it was dedicated to Artemis Brauronia seems highly probable. The statue is now to be seen in the entrance hall of the Acropolis Museum. In the middle of the terrace lie two fragments of a large basis, which appears to have been originally composed of six blocks, and to have measured 3.52 metres (11 ft. 5 in.) in length. There is no doubt that this pedestal supported the bronze statue of the famous Wooden Horse. The inscription on the two blocks of Pentelic marble reads thus: "Chaeredemos of Coele, son of Evangelos, dedicated [it]; Strongylion made [it]." Frazer concludes from the form of the letters of the inscription (187) on the pedestal that it is



later than 447 B.C., and from a reference in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, where the comic poet speaks of horses as big as the *Wooden Horse*, that it was erected shortly before 414 B.C., the date of the comedy. The statue may have stood on the next higher terrace, between the terrace of the Parthenon and that of the precinct of Brauronian Artemis, if we may draw an inference from the order of the description of Pausanias, and from the fact that two of the blocks of the pedestal were found in this locality. In this same locality, or near it, must have also stood the statues mentioned by Pausanias (i. 23, 9, 10; 24, 1, 2) as seen next by him. Of these nothing remains except fragments of bases, one of which belongs to the statue of Epicharinus, the runner in the heavy armor, found in the excavations of 1888 between the Propylaea and the Parthenon.

On the middle terrace, that is the terrace lying between that of Brauronian Artemis and that on which the Parthenon stands, it is believed by many scholars that the sanctuary of Athena Ergane, *i.e. the Worker*, is to be located.

Whether this sanctuary was simply an image or an altar, or whether there once stood a temple to this Athena is a disputed question. The fact that no foundations and no cuttings in the rock for bedding of foundations have been discovered on either of the supposed sites, creates a strong presumption that this sanctuary was simply an enclosure containing an altar.

That Pausanias must have seen some monument of the worship of Athena Ergane seems certain. That Athena was worshipped under this title on the Acropolis is proved by the discovery of five inscriptions (188) containing dedications to Athena *the Worker*. Since two of these inscriptions were found on the middle terrace described above, it seems probable that the sanctuary of this divinity stood on this terrace. This position, as Frazer says, would fit in very well with the route of Pausanias, for he has described the precinct of Brauronian Artemis and is now proceeding eastward towards the Parthenon. In the passage of Pausanias (i. 24, 3) which speaks of Athena *the Worker*, mention is made of a temple, but whether this temple is that of Athena Ergane or some other temple is not clear, inasmuch as there occurs a lacuna in the text



of Pausanias immediately before the words "and in the temple." Dörpfeld (189) holds that the temple here referred to is the old temple of Athena who might also as the patroness of handicraft be called "the Worker." He denies that there was a separate temple of Athena Ergane (1) because no ancient writer speaks of such a temple (unless we suppose Pausanias does so in the lacuna-passage already referred to), nor is it mentioned in any inscription; (2) from dedicatory inscriptions it can be shown that dedications could be made to Ergane under the name of Pallas or Athena, and hence Athena was at once Polias and Ergane (190). (3) While on the one hand the westernmost terrace was separated from the middle one by a wall and, as the latest excavations have shown, by a portico (see plan), we find on the other hand no wall of separation between the central and the easternmost terrace, but a flight of steps cut into the rock which apparently gave free communication to the Parthenon terrace and made this middle terrace an open court. Another possible site for the altar or temple of Athena Ergane is to the north of the Parthenon. In favor of this site is the fact that Pausanias mentions the image of Earth praying for rain very soon after speaking of Athena *the Worker*. Now the exact location of this image of Earth is known from an inscription (see below) to have been north of the Parthenon. As has frequently been pointed out by others, if this view is correct it would follow that the monuments described by Pausanias (i. 23, 8-10; i. 24, 1-4) were situated on opposite sides of the main road which ran eastward from the Propylaea to the eastern front of the Parthenon. This is the opinion also held by Dörpfeld, according to which Pausanias names first the object on the right hand of the way going east, then (τούτων πέραν) those on the other side, *i.e.* the northern, in connection with which he mentions Ergane. Hence, he argues, the shrine of Ergane is identical with the temple of the Polias referred to in the passage containing the famous lacuna (i. 24, 3, ἐν τῷ ναῷ), which is, as he believes, the Hecatompedon.

Upon this middle terrace lies a large base of the monument of Pandaites and Pasicles, consisting originally of five or six statues made by Sthennis and Leochares (191). And not far away must have stood the statue of the man wearing a helmet

adorned with silver nails by Cleoitas the sculptor, who was famous for having invented a contrivance for starting horses at the Olympian Games, an invention of which he was so proud that, according to Pausanias (vi. 20, 14) he had it recorded in an inscription carved on a statue at Athens. The excavations of 1888-89 west of the Parthenon did not bring to light the remains of a temple to Athena Ergane but they did reveal the foundations of a large building on the southern half of the middle terrace. This building consisted apparently of a large hall (see plan) about 15 metres (49 ft. 2 in.) broad and 41 metres (134 ft. 6 in.) long, in front of which ran a portico about 3.5 metres (11½ ft.) deep. Only pieces of the foundation walls are preserved, built partly of blocks of Peiraic limestone, partly of fragments of pre-Persian buildings, and partly of blocks of the hard limestone of the Acropolis rock. Nothing is left of the columns that adorned this portico, nor of the hall itself. The building must have suffered many changes when it was fitted up for a Byzantine church, a few scattered remains of which were found in the course of the excavations.

In these foundations Dörpfeld (192) believes he has found the site of the ancient Chalkotheke, the storehouse for votive offerings and implements of bronze. The site of this building had long been sought on the Acropolis. Some supposed that the foundations under the new museum near the southeast corner belonged to the Chalkotheke. This is the opinion of Milchhöfer in his monograph on Athens published in Baumeister's *Denkmäler d. klass. Altertums*. Others, like Penrose and Lolling, believed that this building stood a little northeast of the Propylaea on foundation walls that have otherwise no suitable attribution, and on a site which, on being excavated, yielded many bronzes. Dörpfeld argues from the location in which most of the inscriptions pertaining to the Chalkotheke were found that the building must have stood somewhere on the western part of the Acropolis. The fact that the inventories of the Chalkotheke and of the Opisthodomos of the Parthenon are sometimes inscribed on the same slab and that both were under the supervision of the treasurers of the goddess argues for the proximity of these two localities. Dörpfeld points out also that the foundations found northeast of the Propylaea are

too small for the Chalkotheke if we take into account the inventories that are believed to enumerate the objects placed in this storehouse. From these inventories (193) it appears that, besides couches, greaves, baskets, scales, braziers, wreaths, this magazine contained at one time, according to one inscription (*C.I.A.* ii. 678), 1500 Laconian shields; according to another (*C.I.A.* ii. 733), it stored 43,300 objects of some kind, the exact nature of which is not known on account of the fragmentary condition of the inscriptions. And if we suppose this building to be identical with the Armory (*Σκευοθήκη*) referred to by Lycurgus, in which the (*σκεύη κρεμαστὰ ἐν ἀκροπόλει*) armament for a hundred war galleys was kept, it might be doubted if even the foundations claimed to be those of the Chalkotheke would suffice to support a structure of the required dimensions. Since, however, these foundations testify to the existence of a large building, which in its outline was apparently intended for a storehouse with a portico, Dörpfeld has warrant for holding that this is the site of the long-sought Chalkotheke. He adds, as another argument in support of his view, the fact that this building is younger than the Parthenon, as is seen from the flight of steps cut into the rock, which, being of the same date as the Parthenon, ran originally clear to the south wall of the Acropolis. This would not have been the case if steps and Chalkotheke were built at the same time, or if the Chalkotheke were already standing, since the triangle between steps, Chalkotheke, and the southern wall of the Acropolis would be useless unless it were filled in and its surface raised to the level of the terrace of the Parthenon. Accordingly, the Chalkotheke must be later than the steps and the Parthenon. From the nature of the material of the foundations Dörpfeld concludes that it was built about the beginning of the fourth century. This date fits well with the fact that the Chalkotheke is first mentioned in 358 or 354 B.C. (194). Judeich thinks that the scanty remains of the foundations of this building point to an older structure than the Chalkotheke, and that on this site must be placed the much-disputed opisthodomos of the inscriptions, which he believes to have been a separate building. The flight of eight steps, already referred to (114 in plan), running parallel to the west front of the Parthenon, is cut out of the native rock, except the smaller southern



half, which is built up of pieces of ancient building material, some of which came from the peristyle of the pre-Persian Hecatompedon. These steps, which Dörpfeld attributes to Pericles in connection with the building of the Parthenon, served directly as an ascent to the higher terrace of the Parthenon, and also lent to the temple the architectural effect of a massive stereobate or foundation. Later these steps became a favorite site for erecting votive offerings and for inscriptions, the location for which can still be seen from the numerous cuttings and beddings in the surface of the rock.

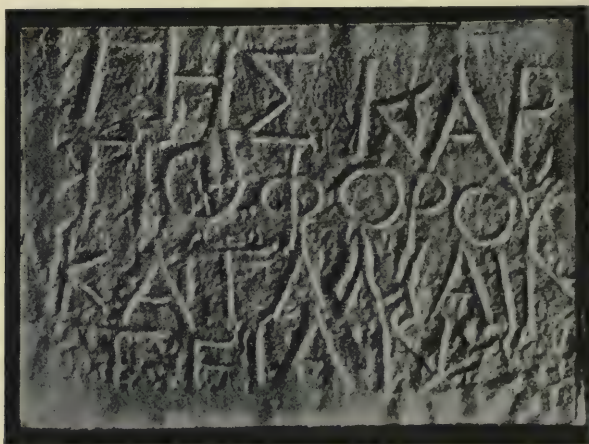


FIG. 125.—Facsimile of Inscription of Earth. Γῆς καρποφόρου κατὰ μαντεῖαν.

Returning now to our guide, who does not mention the Chalkotheke, we are conducted eastward on the north side of the Parthenon, and next find ourselves by the image of Earth praying Zeus to rain on her. The position of this image is definitely known by an inscription cut in the rock about 30 feet north of the seventh column of the Parthenon, counting from the west. The inscription (*C.I.A.* iii. 166) reads thus: "Of fruit-bearing Earth, according to the oracle." It dates, to judge from the style of the letters, from the end of the first century A.D., but it may be a restoration of an earlier inscription. The inscription is now enclosed by an iron railing to protect it against injury from the feet of barbarians. Heydemann (195) conjectures that the image may have repre-



sented Earth as a woman rising from the ground, the lower part of her body hidden beneath the surface,—an attitude in which she is often depicted on vase-paintings. If the statue was thus planted immediately upon the rock, without a pedestal, the inscription would necessarily have to be cut in the rock.

Close by lie two blocks of Pentelic marble which belonged to the pedestal of the statues of Timotheus and Conon, as is shown by an inscription cut into the blocks. Farther east Pausanias sees a group of statuary representing Procne and Itys, which Michaelis (196) identifies with a mutilated group formerly walled into the west bastion in front of the Propylaea and now standing in the open court before the entrance into the Acropolis Museum. It represents a stately matron clad in tunic and mantle, and a naked boy who seems to be struggling to hide himself in the folds of his mother's robe. The style of the group points to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B.C., but the work is not worthy of the name of the famous sculptor Alcamenes, and the probability is that the Alcamenes in the inscription upon the base is the name of the man who dedicated (not made) it. Of the group which represented Athena and Poseidon exhibiting their respective symbols, the olive plant and the wave, we have no remains; but we may get some idea of their appearance from coins of Athens on which this legend is portrayed. Frazer calls attention to the fact that this group had an intimate mythological connection with the image and altar of Zeus Polieus, near which it appears to have been set up. "For it was said that when Athena and Poseidon were contending, Athena begged Zeus to give his vote for her, and promised that if he did so a victim should be sacrificed on the altar to him under the title of Zeus Polieus. Hence the spot where the contest between Athena and Poseidon was decided went by the name of 'the vote of Zeus' ( $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma \Psi\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$ )."

So also from Athenian coins we may get some idea of the type of the statues of Zeus next mentioned by Pausanias, *sc.* the one made by Leochares



FIG. 126.—Bronze Coin.  
Athena and Poseidon.

and that surnamed Polieus. The image and altar of Zeus Polieus probably stood a little to the north of the eastern end of the Parthenon. It was at this altar that the strange sacrifices and ceremonies described by Pausanias (i. 24, 4) were observed. Pausanias now enters the Parthenon, but since this temple has been fully described in a preceding chapter we pass it by. On leaving the Parthenon Pausanias must have seen the temple of Roma and Augustus of which he makes no mention. In the midst of the rocky plateau 23 metres (76 ft.) east of the Parthenon, the foundations of this temple were brought to light a few years ago. These foundations are not to be connected with an altar of Athena which probably stood on the unhewn rough surface nearer to the Parthenon. The temple was a small circular building of white marble, 7.48 metres (24 ft. 6 in.) in diameter, surrounded by a colonnade of nine Ionic columns. Two blocks of the architrave bear an inscription (197) stating that the temple was dedicated to the goddess Roma and Augustus Caesar in the archonship of Areus. Since the Emperor is here called by the title of Augustus the inscription cannot be earlier than 27 B.C. Whether the peristyle enclosed a round cella or the building is to be reconstructed without a cella cannot be determined from the scanty existing remains. The style of the building and its ornamentation are an imitation of the Erechtheum, but the workmanship shows much less careful finish.

Passing eastward we come to the modern Museum building and its annex to the southeast. Below both buildings, but especially the latter, are to be seen foundation walls built of square blocks of limestone. These foundations (95 in plan) Michaelis believes to have been those of the Chalkotheke. Dr. Georg Kawerau (198) has drawn a plan of this building based on what remains of the foundation walls. From the mass of marble chips lying about the foundations of this building Kawerau inferred that it may have been a workshop, and Judeich goes a step farther and conjectures that it may have been the workshop for the building of the older Parthenon. The southeast corner of the Acropolis appears to have been considerably higher in ancient days, possibly as high as the roof of the modern Museum, forming a large

plateau.<sup>s</sup> On this plateau, close to the south wall of the Acropolis, stood the dedicatory offering of Attalus I., king of Pergamon, in commemoration of his victories over the Gauls. Plutarch tells us (*Antony*, 60) that the figure of Dionysus in the group at Athens representing the battle of the Giants was blown down by a hurricane in 32 B.C. from its place into the theatre immediately below, and that in the same storm the colossal statues of Eumenes and Attalus on the Acropolis



FIG. 127.—Amazon and Giant, after Pergamene Group in Acropolis, related to votive offering of Attalus.

were overturned. This group is believed to be one of the four sets of figures dedicated by Attalus and described by Pausanias (i. 25, 2). From Plutarch's statement it is clear that the figures were in the round and of bronze and not in relief as some have supposed. Above the theatre close to the base of the wall of the Acropolis lie blocks of poros of more than five metres in width, which K. Bötticher believes were once a part of the base that supported this votive monument. Professor Brunn expresses the opinion that the statues of Gauls found in several of the Museums of Europe, numbering ten in all, are copies of these groups dedicated by Attalus,



and that the originals set up at Pergamon were of larger size and of bronze. Michaelis has made it quite clear that the marble statues now extant that are supposed to be related to this votive offering of Attalus are copies reduced in marble of bronze originals which were reduced from the Pergamenian originals (199). The grounds for this belief are: (1) that the size of the marble statues, which is about half that of life size, agrees with the statement of Pausanias that the figures were two cubits high; (2) that the subjects of the statues, fighting, wounded or dead Gauls and Persians, a dead Amazon, a dead Giant, answer to the description of the four groups given by Pausanias; (3) that the marble and the character of the work and style are Asiatic. In point of style these statues closely resemble the famous so-called "Dying Gladiator" in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, and the Gaul and his wife, formerly in the Villa Ludovisi but now in the national Museo delle Terme Diocleziane at Rome. The arrangement of these groups is a matter of pure conjecture. The total number of figures that made up the four groups must have been as many as sixty, on the supposition that each group formed a coordinate and complete unit in an ideal and great conception worthily executed (200).

On the way from the votive monument of Attalus to the Erechtheum Pausanias mentions a number of statues, the exact location of which it is not possible to determine. His sudden reminder that he must hasten, "for I have to describe the whole of Greece" (i. xxvi. 4), implies that he omits to name several more statues that stood on this part of the Acropolis. Among those he mentions is a seated image of Athena by Endoeus which is of especial interest. It has been conjecturally identified with a marble statue of Athena which was found at the northern foot of the Acropolis, and is now in the Acropolis Museum.

The recent excavations on the Acropolis have brought to view remains of very ancient walls to the east of the Erechtheum, some of which may belong to the foundations of a pre-historic structure similar to and contemporary with the ancient palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae (see p. 15 above). Southeast of the Erechtheum probably stood the great altar of Athena Polias, upon which a hecatomb was annually



sacrificed. Dörpfeld (201) believes he has found the site of this altar in a large square basis of the native rock which lies northeast of the Parthenon and southeast of the Erechtheum. The surface of the Acropolis to the northwest of the Erechtheum was doubtless as high as the lowest step of that temple. The highest course of masonry in the foundations of the building farther to the west would be on the same level. The upper courses of masonry in these foundations are carefully worked blocks of limestone. Lower down are the foundations of still older buildings. These may have belonged to the house of the Arrephoroi, or, according to others, to the temple of Pandrosos, though the latter is more commonly, and we believe more correctly, placed contiguous to the Erechtheum on its western side (see above, p. 216).

Northwest of the Erechtheum and lying close to the northern wall of the Acropolis are seen the foundations of several buildings of different dates. The use and character of these buildings cannot be determined. Their relative location is indicated on the general plan. Attention may be called once more to the steps (42 in plan) leading down through a rift in the rock to the city below. It is by these steps that the Arrephoroi descended on their secret mission. In addition to what Pausanias tells us, we learn from other writers that the Arrephoroi were four girls of noble birth, between the ages of seven and eleven, who were chosen for their sacred task by the Basileus. They wore white robes, had a special kind of cakes baked for them, and enjoyed the seclusion of a court in which they played ball. Besides performing the curious ceremony described by Pausanias (i. 27, 3), these maidens appear to have had some connection with the weaving of the sacred robe, which was periodically presented to Athena. It seems to have been a common practice to set up on the Acropolis statues of the Arrephoroi; the inscribed bases of a number of these statues have come down to us (202). The "well-wrought figure of an old woman purporting to be the handmaid Lysimache," which Pausanias says "is near the temple of Athena," was probably one of a series of statues of priestesses, of which inscribed bases have been found (203). The location of these

statues is conjectured to have been in or near the Pandroseum. With these statues of priestesses some scholars have connected the series of archaic female figures which were found in 1886 in a pit west of the Erechtheum, and which have been described in a previous chapter on the Acropolis.

Not far westward from the statue of the handmaid Lysimache (204) mentioned above, Pausanias saw a large bronze group of combatants, among whom are Erechtheus and Eumolpus. In this Erechtheus Michaelis recognizes the famous statue of that hero by Myron, referred to by Pausanias (ix. 30, 1). As will be seen from the text of Pausanias, a series of votive offerings follows, the location and style of which cannot be determined from any surviving remains. They are in all probability to be located along the road cut into the rock of the Acropolis and leading to a point between the first and second column, reckoning from the north, of the eastern portico of the Propylaea. To the north of this road, or on the right hand as we go towards the Propylaea, the foundations of several ancient structures have been exhumed. The largest of these had apparently a hall facing south, and a cross-wall dividing the main part of the building into two chambers (31 in plan). These foundations Lolling, as was stated above (see p. 290), believed to be those of the Chalkotheke; but we have seen that they are not large enough to be of this building. Still earlier foundations of good masonry lie beneath these. Possibly these belong to a large cistern, since here was the natural reservoir for the drainage of the Acropolis. Adjoining these foundations lie others of a Roman cistern, built on the site of the projected northeast wing of the Propylaea.

As Pausanias proceeds on his way to the Propylaea he mentions a bronze statue of Cylon, which was probably set up as an expiatory offering for slaying "the suppliants of Athena" (Paus. vii. 25, 3), when, in the attempt to usurp (in 632 B.C.) the government at Athens, Cylon and his fellow-conspirators were put to death in violation of a promise that their lives would be spared in case they would leave their refuge on the Acropolis. The reason for erecting a statue to Cylon assigned by Pausanias, "because he was a very handsome man," is thoroughly Greek, but is doubtless occa-

sioned by the beauty of the statue, which idealized its subject. Mention is next made of a bronze image of Athena, familiarly known as Promachos, or Champion Athena. This title, however, seems to have been given to it at a later time to distinguish this statue from the image of Athena Parthenos in the Parthenon and that of Athena Polias in the Erechtheum. Demosthenes (xix. 272) calls it the great bronze Athena, and says it was set up in the city as a trophy of Athenian valor in the Persian war out of money contributed by the rest of the Greeks. The connection of this statue with the battle of Marathon, according to the statement of Pausanias and Aristides, is probably due to a patriotic pride which refers all trophies that were the fruit of the Persian war to this famous battle. From the order of the description of Pausanias and from Athenian coins it is clear that the great bronze Athena of Phidias stood somewhere between the Erechtheum and the Propylaea. A square platform (36 in plan) cut in the rock about 30 yards east of the Propylaea, and lying in its axis, has commonly been identified as the site of this statue. This level space appears to have been prepared for a pedestal, whose base was about five and a half metres (18 feet) square, and was constructed of blocks of Peiraic limestone, some of which are *in situ*. Others who think this basis too small for the statue would place it on the larger levelled surface (35 in plan) adjacent to this on the south. The interpretation put upon the statement of Pausanias, according to which the point of the spear and the crest of the helmet of the Athena statue could be seen from Cape Sunium, cannot be correct, since Mt. Hymettus cuts off the view of Athens from Cape Sunium. All that Pausanias really says is that the point of the spear and the crest of the helmet were visible at sea. This is entirely possible to one coasting along the shore of Attica after passing Cape Zoster. A clue to the real size of the statue is given by Pausanias in another place (ix. 4, 1), where he says that the image of warlike Athena at Plataea was not much smaller than the bronze Athena on the Acropolis. From this statement Michaelis has drawn the conclusion that the bronze Athena was about 7.62 metres (25 ft.) high and stood on a pedestal about 1.77 metres (5 ft.) in height. The style of the statue



is best inferred from the coins that give a view of the Acropolis with the statue of Athena in the foreground. It is to be borne in mind, however, that the relatively large size of the image in the coins is due to the artistic desire to make this figure show distinctly. The goddess stands in an attitude of repose, with the spear held in her right hand and resting upon the ground. What the position of the shield was is uncertain; it may have rested on the ground at the left side, or it may have been lightly supported by the left hand which held the folds of the robe, or it may have been held out from the body on the left arm. It is probable that this statue was later removed to the Forum of Constantine at Constantinople. In that case it may be identical with the large statue described by the Byzantine historian Nicetas, who tells us that a superstitious mob in 1203 A.D. destroyed a bronze image of Athena, and then goes on to describe it in substance as follows: The goddess stands upright, clad in a tunic which reached to her feet and was drawn in by a girdle at the waist. On her breast was the aegis with the Gorgon's head. On her head she wore a helmet with a nodding plume of horsehair. Her tresses were plaited and fastened at the back of her head, but some locks strayed over her brow. The left hand clasped the folds of her robe; her right hand was stretched out in front, and her face turned in the same direction as if she were beckoning to some one. There was a sweet look as of love and longing in the eyes, and the lips seemed as if about to part in honeyed speech. The mob destroyed the statue because after the first capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders they fancied that the outstretched hand had summoned the host of the invaders from out of the West. It is to be inferred from this description that when the statue was moved the spear and shield must have been left behind. The Promachos is probably referred to in a passage of the late historian Zosimus, who tells us that the Goths, when they were about to invade the Acropolis, recoiled in terror from the apparition of the goddess who stood armed to bar their way. In a passage of the *Knights* of Aristophanes (vv. 1172 f.) this statue is probably referred to under the name of Pylaimachos (*i.e.* fighter at the gates), with possibly an intentional play on



Pylos, since it is Cleon, the hero of Pylos, who speaks in this passage of the comic poet.

The bronze chariot made out of a tithe of the spoils taken from the Boeotians and the Chalcidians of Euboea is next mentioned by Pausanias. This is doubtless the trophy erected by the Athenians to commemorate their victory about 507 B.C. and mentioned by Herodotus (v. 77), who speaks of "the bronze chariot drawn by four horses which stands on the left hand immediately as one enters the gateway of the citadel." An inscription in two elegiac distichs sets forth the occasion of this dedication and alludes to the chains with which the prisoners had been bound and which, according to Herodotus, were hung up on walls blackened and scorched by the fires of the Persian destruction. Just what walls Herodotus refers to is not clear, but either the western wall of the older Erechtheum is meant, or, if we adopt the view of Dörpfeld, the building in question is the "old Athena temple." The inscription (vid. *Anthol. Palat* vi. 343) reads as follows in the translation:

"When Chalcis and Boeotia dared her might  
Athens subdued their pride in valorous fight,  
Gave bonds for insults; and the ransom paid,  
From the full tenth these steeds for Pallas made."

From fragments of inscriptions belonging to different periods, it is clear that the chariot which Herodotus and Pausanias saw, was not the original one but a new one set up probably soon after the conquest of Euboea in 445 B.C., or at the time of the battle of Oenophyta (456 B.C.), and designed to replace the old one which had been destroyed or carried away by the Persians. The location of this splendid offering has been a matter of much discussion. According to Herodotus it stood on the left hand as one enters the Propylaea on the Acropolis. But in his tour of the Acropolis, Pausanias in returning toward the Propylaea mentions the bronze chariot directly after he has spoken of the bronze Athena. According to Pausanias then the chariot is to be located east of the Propylaea, in contrast with the statement of Herodotus, which seems to locate it west of or within the Propylaea. The apparent contradiction is cleared up when we understand, first, that Herodotus spoke of the old Propylon, recently more fully

made known by the investigations of Mr. Weller of the American School at Athens (205); and secondly, that the chariot was changed from its older site in front of the older Propylon, where Herodotus saw it, to its later site, which was probably in the northern half of the eastern portico of the Propylaea, where Pausanias saw it. M. Hauvette (206) sums up the matter as follows: Herodotus is not speaking of the Propylaea of Mnesicles; the state of affairs which he describes during his stay at Thurii is the condition of the Acropolis before the great achievement of Pericles, before the building of the Parthenon and the Propylaea. The name *προπύλαια* which he employs designates a site situated before the gate of the Acropolis. Later, when Mnesicles erected his gateways and porticos, it became necessary to displace the quadriga and he removed it to the interior of the Propylaea, where Pausanias saw it. Herodotus, who was then living in Italy, did not hear of this removal of the chariot, or neglected to correct what he had already written. Mr. Weller is inclined to connect a series of rock cuttings that are seen beside the modern steps and immediately in front of the Propylaea (No. 15 in plan), with the probable location of the quadriga "on the left hand as one enters the Propylon." But for this opinion there seems to be hardly sufficient warrant.

The latest view on the site of this monument is that of Judeich (*Topogr.* p. 216) who concludes from his examination of the question that we are to suppose a triple dedication and setting up of the quadriga: (1) The original one at the close of the sixth century on a site close to the fetters of the Chalcidians that hung from the blackened walls of the Acropolis over against the "megaron" that faced west, by which he understands the west cella of the Hecatompedon. (2) A second one of a new quadriga—the old one having been captured or destroyed by the Persians—by Pericles about 445-446 in front of the old Propylon. (3) The removal of this younger votive offering when the Mnesiclean Propylaea was built, and the setting up of it in its original place (35 in plan) where it would then stand in close proximity to the colossal Athena Promachos. It was there, of course, that Pausanias saw it. Judeich asks but cannot answer the obvious question, why the old site was not chosen

the second time by Pericles. If the close proximity of the statue of Athena Promachos was felt to be an objection to the old site at the first, how could this objection become less keenly felt at a later time?

In the neighborhood of the statue of Athena Promachos—probably between it and the old temple of Athena—stood the bronze stele upon which were inscribed the names of the traitors of the Athenian people. Near by must have stood the stele mentioned by Thucydides (vi. 55) commemorating the “tyranny” of the Pisistratids. The decrees of condemnation against Arthmius of Zelea, Phrynichus, Androtion and against other public traitors, stood, according to literary evidence, “near the old temple” or “to the right of the Athena Promachos.”

Pausanias closes his descriptive tour of the Acropolis with the mention of a statue of Pericles and an image of Athena surnamed the Lemnian. The statue of Pericles was referred to incidentally by Pausanias before (i. 25, 1). Its location can only be inferred from the order in which it is now mentioned. It appears to have stood within the eastern portico of the Propylaea, probably not far from the bronze chariot. It is supposed that this statue of Pericles is the one made by Cresilas, which Pliny (*N.H.* xxxiv. 74) mentions. Of this sculptor it was said that this was the marvellous thing in his art, how he made noble men still more noble. What appears to be part of the pedestal of this statue was found in recent excavations. The fragment is of Pentelic marble and bears a mutilated inscription which, as restored, reads: “Of Pericles. Cresilas made it.”

The last statue on the Acropolis which Pausanias mentions is the Lemnian Athena of Phidias. In one of the dialogues of Lucian (*Imagines*) one of the characters asks: “Which of the works of Phidias did you praise most?” And the answer is, “What but the Lemnian [Athena] on which Phidias deigned to carve his name.” In the same dialogue it is proposed to select and combine the most perfect features from all the most famous statues in order to fashion a perfect image of beauty. The Lemnian Athena is to furnish “the outline of the whole face, and the softness of the cheeks, and the shapely nose.” Himerius says (*Or.* xxi. 5) that Phidias did not always portray



Athena as armed, "but he adorned the maiden by shedding on her cheek a rosy tinge by which, instead of a helmet, he meant to veil the beauty of the goddess." If Himerius here refers to the Lemnian Athena that statue must have represented the goddess without a helmet. Now it is well known to students of Greek art that Furtwängler (207) claims that he has identified copies of this statue in two statues of Athena at Dresden and in a beautiful head of the goddess at Bologna. The Dresden statues, one of which is a torso, and the Bologna head according to Furtwängler are in the style of Phidias and are copies of a bronze original. The original statue was probably dedicated by the Athenian colonists in Lemnos before they set out from Athens; and since this colony was planted between 451 and 447 B.C., Furtwängler infers that the Lemnian Athena was modelled by Phidias just before he set his hand to fashioning the Athena Parthenos statue for the Parthenon. This famous statue of Athena forms a fitting close to the description of the ancient traveller, and suggests anew the wealth and beauty of the monuments that once adorned and sanctified the sacred rock of Athena.

When we bid rise before us in imagination the glorious temples and shrines on the Acropolis, resplendent in the luminous atmosphere of the Athenian sky, and picture to ourselves the wealth of art here once so harmoniously displayed, we can well understand the pride of the Athenian in his city and her citadel. "What must thy perfectness have been, when such thy ruins are!" As we pass through the majestic remains of the great portal, we turn back in fancy and imagine the bronze valves of the gateway thrown open, disclosing to our view the pristine splendors of the Acropolis, and again we hear the exclamations of wonder in the play of the great Comedian:

"Shout, shout aloud! at the view which appears  
of the old time-honored Athena,  
Wondrous in sight and famous in song,  
where the noble Demus abideth."



## CHAPTER VII

### THE ACROPOLIS FROM THE CLOSE OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

"O Ferryman, cities die as well as men."

LUCIAN, *Charon*.

THE later history of the Acropolis may be treated conveniently in four periods, as follows :

- I. *The Byzantine*, extending from the time of Constantine the Great, who gloried in the title of *General of Athens*, to the year 1205, when Athens fell under the rule of the Frankish lords.
- II. *The Frankish-Florentine*, extending to 1455, when Athens fell into the hands of the Turks.
- III. *The Turkish*, extending to 1834, when Athens became the capital of the new kingdom of the Hellenes.
- IV. *The Modern Greek Period*, characterized by many discoveries and archaeological investigations.

#### I. THE BYZANTINE PERIOD.

It is as remarkable as it is fortunate that during the centuries that witnessed the inroads of the northern barbarians into Southern Europe, Athens should have so largely escaped their destructive hand. Alaric the Goth seems to have turned aside from Athens in order to secure the richer booty that awaited him in the Peloponnesus. What else it was that influenced Alaric to spare Athens and her treasures is not known, unless we give credence to a story told by Zosimus, a

historian of the following century, who relates that as the chieftain of the Goths advanced to the Acropolis at the head of his horde of barbarians, he beheld the goddess Athena in full panoply of war, standing upon the walls of the citadel as if to guard the city of her choice, and by her side the figure of Achilles apparently filled with rage. The savage chieftain, awe-struck by the vision, retired and sent heralds to the rulers of the city with proposals of peace. But with Theodosius II. (408-450) the systematic spoliation of the city, which was begun under Nero but had ceased with the accession of Hadrian, was renewed to enrich the new capital of Constantine. About this time probably the bronze Athena Promachos, which had inspired Alaric with such awe, was carried off to adorn the circus of Constantinople. After 430 A.D. the Athena Parthenos statue is no longer mentioned. Proclus, the Neoplatonist, who lived in a house near the sanctuary of Asclepius, dreamed a dream in which he saw a beautiful woman who bade him prepare his house to receive the Queen of Athens to dwell with him. The dream seems to have been prophetic, for a few years later, 435, came the imperial decree that all pagan shrines and temples should be closed or changed over into places of Christian worship. It must have been at this time that the great temples on the Acropolis were converted into churches. In the case of the Parthenon this transformation was a very natural one. Athena, the goddess of wisdom, was baptized and became Saint Sophia (208). During the reign of the Emperor Justinian (527-565) other changes came over the Acropolis. That monarch built numerous bulwarks and magazines to provide means for sustaining a siege and to defend his empire against the incursions of the barbarians. Some of these, doubtless, were built on the Acropolis. For several centuries following the history of the Acropolis is shrouded in darkness. The most important event connected with the Acropolis in this period is the celebration of the triumph of Basil II. over the Bulgarians in 1019 A.D. The victorious conqueror gave thanks to the Panagia or Blessed Virgin to whom the Parthenon was now consecrated, and presented costly gifts to her shrine, among which was a much admired silver dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit, which fluttered over the high altar. To the Byzantians Athens had both an

ecclesiastical and a military importance, and the Acropolis concentrated and guarded the interests of both church and state. Since the time of Diocletian Athens had been the seat of a bishopric, and from about the middle of the ninth century was dignified as the ecclesiastical centre of the orthodox church of the Greek people, whose chief magnate was entitled Metropolitan. Thus the Parthenon became the cathedral of the Christian faith on Greek soil, and the Acropolis continued to be the sanctuary of the Athenians. In 1203 the soldiers of the fourth crusade, under Dandolo the Great, Doge of Venice, captured Constantinople, and the following year Leon Sgouros of Nauplia, inspired by a desire to create an independent kingdom, took the lower city, but failed to get possession of the Acropolis owing to the heroic resistance of the Archbishop Michael Akominatos. But this heroic defense was of short duration. In 1205 the Burgundians and Lombards under the victorious Boniface compelled the Archbishop to surrender, and the beautiful church of the Panagia fell a prey to the ruthless Frankish soldiery and became transformed into a Roman Catholic Church dedicated to St. Mary. What architectural changes the buildings on the Acropolis experienced during this entire period we must now consider.

While several remains of old Byzantine art have been found on the Acropolis, there is no clear evidence that any Byzantine building was ever erected on the summit. The architectural activity of the Byzantines was confined to remodelling the ancient temples. Among these the Parthenon seems to have experienced the most important changes, particularly in the interior. The altar of a church must stand at the east end of the edifice; hence it became necessary to cut a door through the western cella wall for the entrance and to close up the ancient entrance at the east end. Thus the west end became the front and the old portico called the opisthodomos or rear chamber became the narthex of the new church. The east door was enlarged and spanned by an arch which was supported by two small pillars. Behind this arched opening a shallow semi-circular apse was built, and was so placed that the two middle columns of the old pronaos or fore-temple were half-built into the wall. The interior was fitted out in the usual style of an orthodox Greek church. At the east end

rose the sacred bema or platform, behind which was the screen before "the holy of holies," which was pierced with three doors and decorated with sacred pictures. Behind the screen stood the altar under a canopy supported by four pillars of porphyry. In the semi-circular apse were the marble seats for the clergy. Its vaulted ceiling was decorated with a representation of the Virgin in mosaic, tinted and gilded cubes of which were found when the apse was removed. In the nave stood on one side the reading desk ( $\alpha\mu\beta\omega\nu$ ), and nearly opposite to it the bishop's throne. This throne, which was an ancient marble chair, presumably taken from the Dionysiac theatre, came to light in the debris of the apse cleared away by Ross in 1835.

Externally the Parthenon suffered but little change. The building of the apse caused the removal of the central slab of the east frieze and may have been the occasion of the removal of the central group of the east pediment (209). The removal of the statue of Athena both from this pediment and from the western may have been due to religious scruples which would not tolerate the figure of a pagan divinity in a Christian church. That the Athena had been removed long before the drawings of Carrey and the Vienna Anonymous (1674) were made is undoubted. Its place may have been taken by images of saints for which the small niches shown in the drawings of Carrey were built. But these changes did not materially alter the structure of the Parthenon, as compared with the alterations of later years which were much more radical. These were chiefly the following: To make the account more intelligible the accompanying plan, taken from Michaelis, is added.

*E* = the apse.

*F* = the high altar.

*D, D* = the sacred bema.

*G* = the beautiful door.

*H* = the ambon or reading desk.

*J* = the bishop's throne.

*A* = the nave.

*B, B, C* = the position of the galleries.

*K* = the narthex or vestibule.

*L, L* = side entrances.

*M* = sprinkling basin.



*N* = entrance door.

*O* = chapel.

*P, P* = rude steps cut into the stylobate.

*Q, Q* = the porticoes.

*R, R* = rude channels for carrying off water.

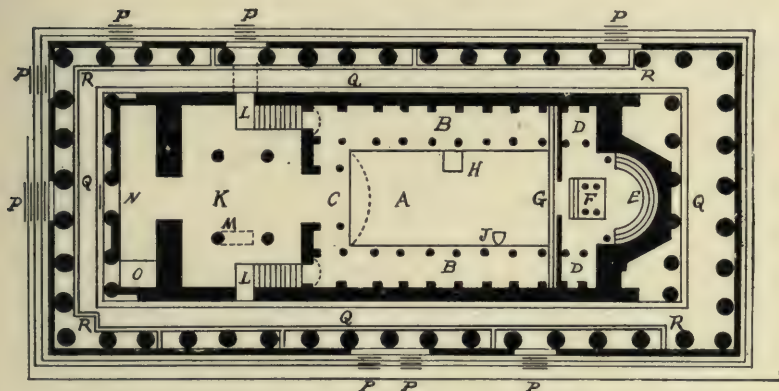


FIG. 128.—Interior of the Parthenon in the Byzantine Period.

The original marble roof and its supports were removed. For the columns in the cella twenty-two new columns were so placed that ten stood on each side separating the naves from the aisles, while two stood on either side of the west entrance. The position of these columns can still be traced on the pavement of the Parthenon. Galleries for the women were built on the two sides and over the entrance, and in these galleries stood columns, twenty-three in number (the extra one standing above the wider intercolumniation at the west entrance), which supported the ceiling. Whether this ceiling was a vaulted one, as Michaelis (*Parthenon*, p. 48) supposes, or a flat one as Bötticher (*Acropolis*, p. 16) believes, cannot be determined (210). The aisles of the peristyle were probably left uncovered. This would account for the existence of the roughly hewn gutter *R, R, R*, which runs along the north, south and west porticoes, and which was doubtless intended to carry off the rain-water that ran down from the roof of the main part of the structure. The bronze trellises between the columns of the opisthodomos were taken away and in their place walls were built up, with an entrance

left open in the central and in the southernmost intercolumniation, where the bearings for the pivots of the doors and the furrows worn in the pavement by the swinging doors are still visible. The southern door seems to have led to an enclosed apartment located in the southwest corner of the vestibule. This may have been a baptismal chapel (*O*) over which later a minaret was built by the Turks, remains of which are still extant. The large western door (*N*) was made narrower by the insertion of a poorly constructed frame of ancient slabs of marble. This framework has recently been removed. At a later period a heavy wall was built along the entire peristyle from column to column, which was still standing in the eighteenth century. The thickness of this wall and of the successive columns that served to divide it into sections produced the impression of a continuous row of little chapels surrounding the great church. Openings pierced this wall at eight points, to which rude steps (*P*, *P*) cut into the ancient stylobate led up. The interior surfaces of the walls of the vestibule were covered with pictures of saints painted directly on the marble. Traces of these paintings are preserved. One can also read brief inscriptions cut into the columns of the western portico, which refer to the Parthenon as "the great church of Athens," dedicated to "the Mother of God" (*θεοτόκος*). These inscriptions constitute a kind of church record, in which the dates of the death of the chief dignitaries of the Athenian church are given. The last of these dates is 1190. Just in what order the changes enumerated above were made we have no means of knowing, since no notice of the Parthenon has come down to us from the time of its first transformation into a Christian church down to the beginning of the thirteenth century, with the exception of the triumphal jubilee of Basil II. in 1019 A.D., already mentioned, and the brief records contained in the above-mentioned inscriptions.

The Erechtheum also was transformed into a Christian church, we know not when. Here also the orientation was turned about, as in the Parthenon, and an apse was built at the east front. When the Erechtheum was altered to suit the purposes of a place of Christian worship, the floor of the whole edifice was placed at the level of the ancient pavement

of the two western divisions. All the inner foundations of the eastern cella were torn away, except a few stones in the corners, and part of the foundations of the eastern porch was removed to make room for the apse. The ancient pavement of white marble slabs was torn up, and in its place a new one of slabs of streaked marble was laid at the much lower level of the new entrance from the west. The original surface of the rock was hewn away to such an extent that no trace remains of the ancient foundation, not even a single bedding of the stones of Peiraic limestone that formerly constituted the stereobate. The two isolated foundation walls still standing are rude and later constructions of ancient material. The interior of the building was divided into a nave and two aisles; the two late walls, referred to above, probably supported the pillars that flanked the nave of the church. A coarse cross-wall supported the sacred screen on which were displayed the pictures of saints, and which served to enclose "the holy of holies." A cross-wall was built a little westward of the ancient colonnade that separated the western from the eastern chamber, in order to provide a vestibule to the church. This wall had three doors; the panels of the central door were seen by Imwood, in 1837, still standing. How much change was wrought on the exterior of the building by these internal changes is a matter of inference and not of evidence. Whether the little temple of Wingless Victory served any religious purpose during the Byzantine period is not known.

As regards the Propylaea, we know that this building served as a castle and a palace before the time of the Franks. A "Castle de Cetines" on the Acropolis is mentioned as existing under the Catalans (211), which had been built prior to their time. This was doubtless built within the Propylaea. During the reign of Justinian (527-565) other changes came over the Acropolis. That monarch made use of the natural advantages of the rock to defend his possession against the incursion of barbarians. We are told that he built numerous forts and magazines and reservoirs to provide means for sustaining a siege. Just where these means of defense were built is not known. But that some of the reservoirs found on the Acropolis, as, for example, the large one immediately back of the north wing of the Propylaea, and







(marked *I*) running from the Nike bastion across to the Pinakothek or north wing of the Propylaea, just above the pedestal of the Agrippa monument. The date of this wall is not certain, but it is possible to put it in this same period, when the Acropolis was to be made more secure against hostile attacks. But it is equally possible to place these walls in the period of the Catalans or of the Florentine dukes who followed them. The old gateway, *i.e.* the Beulé gate, may have been closed as early as this time. Thereafter the only entrance to the Acropolis was at the southwest angle of the rock at the foot of the bastion that supports the Nike temple. This remained the only entrance during all the Turkish occupation and down to recent times, when, by the tearing down and removal of the walls that formed the bulwarks in defense of the western slope, the old gateway was laid free and again became the entrance.

## II. THE FRANKISH-FLORENTINE PERIOD.

As already stated, Athens passed into the hands of the Franks in 1205. The Burgundian knight Otto de la Roche was the first Duke. The Acropolis now became the seat of Frankish lords. The churches of the Acropolis passed over from the Greek to the Roman cult without suffering material architectural changes, and a Roman Catholic Archbishop took in 1206 the place of the orthodox Metropolitan. Since, however, Athens was only occasionally the residence of the Dukes, and the Archbishop generally resided at Thebes, which was then headquarters of the ducal court, Athens and its Acropolis passed for a time into comparative obscurity. This period of quiet and silence was broken in 1311, when the Catalan adventurers from Sicily conquered the Franks and occupied the citadel. No account has come down to us how these new chieftains and robbers conducted themselves during their occupancy of more than seventy years. In 1387 the Florentine dukes began their sway over Athens. Nerio I. took the Acropolis from the grip of Peter de Pau after an obstinate siege of two years, and occupied the Propylaea, which, as we have seen, had already become a fortress during the occupation of the Catalans. How much was done by

Nerio and his successor Antonio to make the Propylaea a still greater stronghold cannot be determined. In the main the structure remained unimpaired. To judge from early drawings, the more important changes in the building were the following: The six great Doric columns of the western façade were built into a heavy wall, through which was left one passage in the central intercolumniation, the four side passages of the central structure also being walled up and

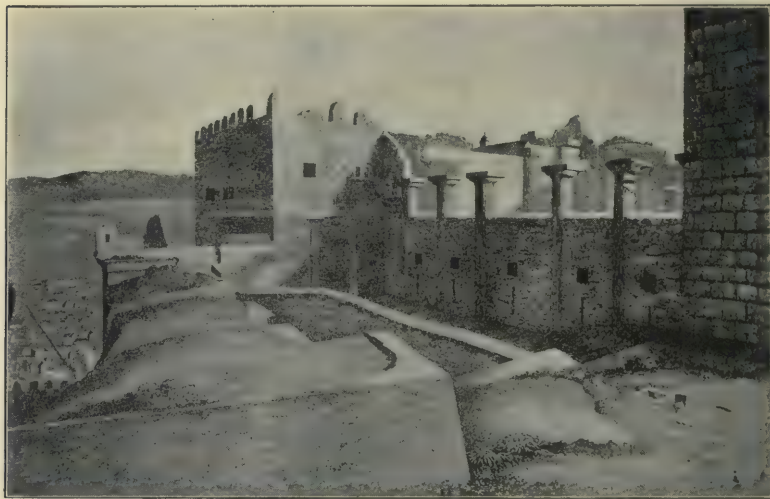


FIG. 130.—The Propylaea in the Frankish Period.

closed. In this way a large vestibule was created, having a single passage-way, and a large hall beyond it to the east. Windows were provided in the north, west and south walls of this enclosure, and doors were cut through the east wall; these doors led to a structure which doubtless was used as a dwelling. Above the entablature of the north wing was built an upper story which probably formed part of this dwelling. The mortices for the joists cut into this wall are still to be seen. The north wing was divided into a north and south chamber, and provided with a floor and second story. These apartments probably served as the headquarters of the ducal government. It was probably during the rule of the Florentine dukes that the great tower—sometimes called

the *Frankish* tower—was built upon the ruins of the south wing of the Propylaea (212). This tower was happily taken down in 1875 by the Greek Archaeological Society, aided by Dr. Henry Schliemann. It is a conspicuous object in all the views of the Acropolis taken after 1650. The Acciajoli dukes also fortified, if they did not build, a heavy wall uniting the Nike bastion with the pedestal of the Agrippa monument, already referred to above, and they built or strengthened a similar wall joining the above-named pedestal with the corner of the northern wing of the Propylaea (213). All these fortifications would necessitate a change in the approach. In the days of Pericles the road up the slope led by winding turns over the different terraces to the top. In the Roman period and for centuries later the great marble stairway afforded the means of ascent. But later again the path was arranged in winding turns, passing from an entrance below the bastion of the Nike temple through another gate beside the pedestal of the Agrippa monument, and then turning sharply south until it finally arrived at the foot of the great Frankish tower. It was during this period that artillery began to be used in attacking strongholds; hence arose the necessity of rebuilding and strengthening fortifications to withstand the new mode of warfare. Battlements and embrasures, galleries and keeps were probably constructed by the Florentine rulers. The thickness of the south side especially shows the patchwork of this period. The numerous buttresses that support the walls of the Acropolis were built in this period.

Under the rule of Nerio I. the Greek population was quite content. He reinstated the Greek clergy and he exercised care in preserving the ancient temples from further injury. In his last will (1394) he ordered his body to be buried in the church of St. Mary, and he entrusted the entire city to the guardianship of this sanctuary and its priests. He requested that the doors of the church should be adorned anew with silver decorations at the expense of the public treasury, and that all jewels and vestments, besides two hundred and fifty ducats taken from the church in financial straits, should be restored. The execution of this will and the property of the cathedral church were entrusted to the care of the friendly republic of Venice. It is worthy of notice, as



Michaelis remarks, that the Roman Catholic Saint, the successor of Athena Polias, should in this wise become the patron and guardian of the city.

Near the close of 1394 Athens, now threatened by the Turks, was captured by the Venetians, and the banner of the lion of St. Mark floated for the first time from the battlements of the Acropolis. But this supremacy was of short duration. In 1403 Antonio, the natural son of Nerio Acciajoli, entered victorious into the possession of the castle of the Propylaea. As vassals of Venice, and later of the Ottoman power, Antonio and his successors held sway until 1456, when Athens fell into the hands of the Turks. Two years later (1458) the Acropolis was surrendered and became the seat of the Moslem rulers of Greece (214).

### III. THE TURKISH PERIOD.

In describing the changes that the Acropolis underwent during the Turkish period we must take account of the sources of information from which our knowledge of the history of the Acropolis during the next succeeding centuries is derived (215). One of the earliest of these sources is a journal kept by one Niccolo da Martoni on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1395, a copy of which, made in 1397, is among the manuscripts of the National Library in Paris. His account of the condition of the buildings on the Acropolis is most worthy of our notice. What he calls the *Sala Magna*, with its thirteen columns, is doubtless the Propylaea. The number *thirteen* is probably to be explained by counting the six columns of the central passageway, four of the west portico, and the three of the north wing, since the columns of the east portico had probably been built into a wall; but, according to the view expressed above, the columns also of the west portico had been built into a wall by this time to serve as a defense. The south wing of the Propylaea was occupied by the great Frankish tower mentioned above. Of the peristyle of the Parthenon Niccolo counts sixty columns. He speaks of two naves of the church, one lying behind the other, of the altar of St. Dionysius in the first nave, and of four pillars of jasper (more likely



porphyry, as stated by Spon and Wheler) standing about the chief altar, of a cistern near the altar, of a picture of the Virgin Mary and other sacred properties of the church, and of the small windows in the apse, the panes of which are made of translucent marble.

A few years before the overthrow of the Florentine rule Cyriacus of Ancona, an enthusiastic lover of ancient art and letters, visited Duke Nerio II., and noted down his observations of several buildings and monuments in Athens, particularly of the Propylaea and the Parthenon of which he made drawings (216). But what has survived of these in a copy made by the architect San Gallo is so untrustworthy as to be of little value.

In 1458 the Turkish ruler occupied the Propylaea as a residence, and turned the Erechtheum into a harem, restoring, however, the Parthenon to the Greeks as a place of worship. In the interval between 1458 and 1460 Athens was visited by another occidental traveller, who has left his impressions of the Acropolis on record in a treatise on "The Theatres and Schools in Greece." This is the so-called *Vienna Anonymus*, found by K. O. Müller in the Vienna library and published by Ross in 1840. In this account the temple of Wingless Victory is called a school for musicians, erected by Pythagoras of Samos. The pediments and coffered ceiling of the Propylaea were still in place. The description closes with an account of the Parthenon, which the writer designates as the temple of the Mother of God, built by Apollo and Eulogius of Apostolic times. The conversion of the Parthenon into a mosque is first mentioned by another unknown writer, the *Paris Anonymus*, whose manuscript dating from the latter half of the fifteenth century was discovered in the library of Paris in 1862. The change from a Christian church into a Mohammedan mosque was accompanied with little injury to the Parthenon. The Moslems contented themselves with taking away the screen covered with images of saints which separated the holy of holies from the place of assembly, with removing the altars and other appurtenances of worship, and with covering the walls with a heavy coat of whitewash so as to cover the painted figures and symbols of Christian devotion. Furthermore they provided a special niche for prayer in the

southwest corner, and erected a tall and slender minaret in the south side of the old opisthodomos, access to which was by means of a door rudely cut in the west wall of the cella. Gregorovius, in his history of Athens, remarks that neither in the basilica of St. Peter's at Rome, nor in the Mosque of Saint Sophia at Constantinople, nor in any other sanctuary on the face of the earth have men so diverse in language, customs, race and religion through so many centuries offered their devotions to the eternally one and the same Divine Being, worshipped under many different names, as in this ancient cella of Pallas Athena. With the exception of brief mention in correspondence between Professor Kraus of Tübingen and certain Greek priests in Constantinople (1575-78), and in accounts of travel by a French nobleman (1630), we hear nothing concerning the Acropolis and its buildings until about 1656 (217), when an explosion of a powder magazine in the eastern portico of the Propylaea shattered that majestic and beautiful building. This explosion was caused by a thunderbolt—a manifestly divine punishment, said the Greeks, visited upon the Turkish Aga Isouf, who had planned on the following day to batter down a small Greek church as a grace to a Turkish festival, and who, together with all his family, save one daughter, was killed in the disaster. A statement found in the account of the French traveller, Tavernier, who visited Athens prior to 1663, refers to the Propylaea as likely soon to tumble down in ruin.

The first actual description of the Acropolis since the time of Pausanias appeared in 1672 in a letter of the Jesuit father Jacques Babin (218). He gives a fairly intelligent account of the Parthenon and of the Propylaea. Interest in Athens was growing. In 1675 a French writer, Guillet de St. Georges, wrote an account of the city, entitled "*Athènes Ancienne et nouvelle et l'état présent de l'empire des Turcs.*" Guillet assumed the name of his brother, who had been captured in Athens by the Turks, in order to give the impression that his book, which was really based on the statements of the Capucin monks and of the ancient writers on Athens, collected by Meursius, was written from personal observation by an eye-witness. This treatise, together with the letter of Babin, fell into the hands of a French antiquary

and physician of Lyons, named Jacques Spon, and induced him to make a tour to Greece. On this tour he was accompanied by George Wheler, an English botanist and clergyman. Spon and Wheler arrived in Athens in 1676, and tarried a little more than two weeks.

Spon's account of his travels appeared in 1678, Wheler's in 1682. While the account of Wheler gives some details more correctly than that of Spon, it is to the latter that we are indebted for information concerning the Parthenon, the Nike temple, and the Propylaea as then existing. Some remarkable errors, however, are found in this account. For example, Spon supposed that the interior arrangement of the Parthenon as he saw it was the original one, and so he placed the ancient entrance at the west front, and was led by this mistake to make the further one of seeing in the west pediment group a representation of the birth of Athena, a mistake perpetuated until well on in the last century. Of the east pediment group he says that only a horse's head was still remaining, although several of the statues must at this time still have been in place. The views of the Parthenon drawn by him and his companion (see Michaelis, *Tafel* VII. 4, 5) are extremely inadequate. Much more valuable for our information are the drawings formerly ascribed to Jacques Carrey, a painter, who was said to have accompanied the Marquis de Nointel, the ambassador of Louis XIV. at the Sublime Porte, on a journey to Greece in 1674. It is now believed that these drawings were made by an unknown Flemish painter who accompanied de Nointel on his expedition (219). This painter appears to have spent only eighteen days on the Acropolis and to have succeeded in that short time in making twenty-one drawings. To this apparent haste, and to certain unfavorable conditions (*e.g.* he was not permitted to erect any scaffolding), are to be charged some minor faults and omissions. These drawings give both pediments of the Parthenon (the western almost complete), the thirty-two metopes of the south side, the entire western and the eastern frieze except the central slab, fifteen slabs of the east half of the northern, and seventeen slabs of the middle part of the southern frieze. Of about the same time as the so-called Carrey drawings is a sketch of the west



pediment of the Parthenon commonly known as Nointel's Anonymous and figured in Michaelis Atlas Plate, VII. 3, and discussed in his work on the *Parthenon*, p. 97, 188. In some points this sketch is more correct than that of Carrey, but it is stiff and lacks artistic touch. It was a great piece of good fortune that these sketches were made at this time as if in anticipation of the irretrievable disaster that was soon to overtake these masterpieces of Greek sculpture. The ruin wrought by the explosion of gunpowder in the Propylaea about 1646 was the precursor of the greater ruin now



FIG. 131.—The Acropolis as it appeared about 1674. The Parthenon a Mosque.

impending. The victorious General Francesco Morosini, afterward Doge of Venice, had been driving the Turks from their stronghold in Peloponnesus, and began to threaten Athens and its citadel. The Turks, feeling the need of strengthening their citadel on the Acropolis, razed the temple of Wingless Victory and built its blocks of marble into new breastworks in front of the Propylaea. In this period may be placed many walls and bastions that are seen in the drawings of the Acropolis made in the eighteenth century. In these drawings the western approach and the entire area lying between the portico of Eumenes, the theatre of Herodes and the Acropolis, are enclosed by heavy walls. The only entrance to the Acropolis was through a small gate just below the Nike bastion which led into an outer court in which the guards were quartered. But in spite of all precautions and



efforts the Acropolis was doomed. On September 21, 1687, the Venetian army sailed into the harbor. The next morning the batteries were placed on the neighboring hills of the Muses and the Areopagus. Impatient at the slow progress of the work of destruction by shot and shell, it was proposed to undermine the citadel and to blow up the Acropolis with all its treasures and occupants. But this undertaking proved



FIG. 132.—The Acropolis Bombarded (1687). Drawn by Fanelli.

too formidable. Thereupon a deserter from the Turks brought word that the entire supply of powder had been stored in the Parthenon with the hope that the Christian besiegers would spare the former church of the Madonna. This report, false in so far that only a day's supply of powder had been brought into the cella of the Parthenon, so far from causing the invaders to cease from directing their fire against this building only served to stimulate them to greater effort to make sure their aim. For some time, however, the firing was without effect, as though, says Ernst Curtius, their guns refused to do their duty against such a mark. But on the evening of Friday, September 26, a bomb too well aimed by a German

lieutenant crashed through the roof, ignited the powder, and shattered the glorious temple of Ictinus (220) which externally had almost wholly remained intact for more than twenty centuries. The courage of the Turks held out for two days longer, during which the work of destruction on the Acropolis was continued. On September 28 the white flag was hoisted and the citadel surrendered. After about six months of possession Morosini concluded to abandon Athens. Emulating the example of another Morosini who in plundering Constantinople (1204) had brought home to Venice as a trophy the four bronze horses that adorn the façade of St. Mark's church, he determined to carry with him the horses of Athena's chariot and the statue of Poseidon from the west pediment of the Parthenon. The tackling used in lowering these figures broke, and the clumsy hands of the sailors allowed these precious relics of art to fall upon the rock and "they went up into dust." The damage wrought by the explosion is shown by the present condition of the ruin. The partition wall dividing the parthenon chamber from the main cella was thrown down, carrying with it the roof and the four supporting columns. The other walls of this part of the cella remained erect but not uninjured. At the eastern end the force of the explosion was spent partly upon the apse. But the east wall of the cella and the columns of the pronaos, with the exception of the southwest corner column, were thrown down (221). The greatest damage was wrought in the centre of the building; the chipped and bruised walls at the sides still show the force of the explosion. On each side of the cella at the western end eleven slabs of the frieze remained in place. The frieze at the west end is still *in situ*. In all about thirty-six metres of the frieze still remain in place.

Fortunately the two ends of the peristyle remained standing, the west end being least injured. In conducting the siege of Athens the Venetians had made plans and drawings of the city and its citadel. From this period date drawings of the Acropolis made by Verneda, a Venetian military engineer. As soon as the Venetians were gone the Turks returned to occupy the Acropolis. They rebuilt their mosque on a more modest scale in the centre of the ruined Parthenon. The

minaret had been miraculously preserved and from its summit again floated the standard of the crescent. The mosque remained until 1843. Wretched hovels built of broken fragments of the ruined temples now occupied the more open spaces of the Acropolis. Many precious fragments of sculpture and architecture were covered up by these hovels and saved for the spade of the later excavator. The period of destruction and plunder was, however, not yet at an end.



FIG. 133.—The Parthenon in Ruin. Turkish Hovels and Mosque.

No one can tell what and how many spoliations are to be charged either to the wanton destruction of Turks, or to the covetousness of more civilized barbarians eager to possess some relic of buildings or statues that had been the pride of ancient Athens, in the interval between 1687 and 1800 when Lord Elgin perpetrated his brilliant and beneficent "theft." Our knowledge of the Acropolis during this time is derived chiefly from the description of the English traveller, Richard Pococke (1745) from the drawings of Dalton, the English painter (1749), and from the drawings and studies of Stuart and Revett, members of the Society of the Dilettanti, whose *Antiquities of Athens* (the first volume appeared in 1762)



constitute the first scientific treatise of modern times on the Acropolis. This work was followed by that of Richard Worsley, also a member of the Dilettanti, who embodied his sketches and studies in a book called "Museum" which appeared in 1794. The *Museum Worsleyanum* as well as the *Antiquities* of Stuart and Revett contain many drawings of a talented young painter named Pars. Chandler who headed the expedition undertaken by the Society of the Dilettanti in 1765 writes in his *Travels* concerning Pars who accompanied this expedition that he devoted a much longer time than Carrey did to the work of delineating the frieze of the Parthenon, "which he executed with diligence, fidelity, and courage. His post was generally on the architrave of the colonnade many feet from the ground, where he was exposed to gusts of wind, and to accidents in passing to and fro. Several of the Turks murmured and some threatened because he overlooked their houses, obliging them to confine or remove their women, to prevent their being seen from that exalted station." The drawings of Pars, some of which he etched, are to be seen in the *Print Room* of the British Museum. They are regarded by Michaelis as decidedly superior in fineness and accuracy to those attributed to Carrey. Mention should also be made of the descriptions of Athens written by the English travellers Edward Clarke and Edward Dodwell in the early part of the last century.

With an increasing interest in these objects of ancient art grew naturally the desire to carry them away as choice possessions. As early as 1744 the Dilettanti had in their keeping a beautiful fragment of the Parthenon frieze. Chandler collected a good many fine bits, and numerous choice pieces found their way somehow into private collections in England and France, saved to be sure from the hands of Turks and other Vandals, but lost in some cases to the admiration of lovers of art generally. Among these collectors of Greek art treasures are to be named first the French Envoy Choiseul-Gouffier, and the artist Fauvel who was for several years French vice-consul at Athens. In 1799 the youthful Lord Elgin came as ambassador of Great Britain to Constantinople. His attention had already been called to the danger that threatened works of art in Athens from the ignorance and



cupidity of the Turks and the vandalism of tourists. He speedily obtained a firman from the Turkish government allowing him to make drawings, which was subsequently renewed and enlarged in scope so as to include permission to make casts, to excavate, and to carry away "blocks of stone with figures upon them." For carrying out this undertaking he secured the services of two architects, a painter, a sculptor, and two moulders. The work began in 1800 and was continued with some interruption until 1803-04. But not until 1812 could the bulk of the art treasures thus obtained be transported to England on account of the lack of adequate means of transportation and the outbreak of a war between England and Turkey in 1807. Not until 1816 and after much debate were these marbles bought by the British government at the low price of 35,000 pounds sterling, which is about one-half of the expense incurred in this enterprise. Scrupulously guarded in the halls of the British Museum, the Elgin marbles are at once the best memorial remaining of the glory of Athenian sculpture in its palmy days, and of the foresight of the Englishmen who saved to the world this precious heritage of the past. For there is every reason to believe that these sculptures, had they remained *in situ*, would have suffered irreparable injury from the vandalism of later tourists and from the bombshells and bullets that were fired at the Acropolis during the war for Greek independence (222). In some respects Lord Elgin exceeded the terms of his firman, and unhappily the Erechtheum and the Parthenon suffered some injury in the attempt to remove pieces of sculpture securely fastened. Thus, for example, portions of the cornice of the Parthenon were torn away in order to remove some of the metopes, and the south corner of the east gable was badly injured by taking down the figures of the horses of Helios (223). One of the Caryatids was torn away from the porch of the Erechtheum with such carelessness that both the architrave and the ceiling of the portico were ruined. The architrave has been replaced, not restored, in order to keep the porch from tumbling down, and in place of the original a plaster cast of a Caryatid has been substituted. The eastern portico of the Erechtheum was inexcusably robbed of one of its exquisite columns by the

English lovers of ancient art. The undertaking of Lord Elgin stimulated fresh interest in the antiquities of Greece. There came to Greece in 1810 the international company of architects and explorers who were the discoverers of the pediment groups of the Aegina temple and of the frieze of the Apollo temple at Phigalia. Of this company the English architect Cockerell and the Danish archaeologist Bronstedt devoted themselves especially to the study of the Parthenon. Cockerell, while taking measurements of the Parthenon, discovered the delicate entasis of the columns, and Bronstedt projected a work on the Parthenon which was never completed.

The outbreak of the Greek war for independence in 1821 put an end for a time to all archaeological studies and threatened still further ruin. In 1822 the Turks, who had been besieged on the Acropolis for several months, reduced by famine and the lack of water, were obliged to capitulate. In June, 1822, the victorious Greeks occupied once more the Acropolis. Profiting by the experience of their foe the Greeks now enclosed the ancient spring called Clepsydra, below the northwest angle of the Acropolis, within their line of fortification, and built a bastion to defend it, which, after its brave defender, was named the bastion of Odysseus (224). The steps which led down from the summit, close by the base of the Agrippa monument, to the spring are still clearly seen; they are often erroneously taken to be of ancient date. The bastion of Odysseus has recently been torn down; a marble tablet bearing an inscription records its former existence. The chamber which enclosed the fountain was utilized in the Byzantine period as a chapel consecrated to the Apostles.

But the Greek occupation of the Acropolis was short-lived. In August, 1826, Reschid Pasha began a new siege of Athens. The Turkish bombs were aimed at the temples on the Acropolis with no less directness than the Venetian had been before. The columns of the west colonnade of the Parthenon show the effective aim of the guns of Reschid. Especially to be deplored was the injury wrought by this cannonading to the Erechtheum, which served at that time as the dwelling of the Greek commander Gouras, who was shot down while making a tour of inspection around the walls. The two northwestern columns of the north portico were

battered down, and a part of the beautiful ceiling fell at the same time. The Greeks were obliged to surrender in June, 1827, to the Turks, who entered once more, and for the last time, into possession of the ancient citadel. For six more years the Turks retained possession of the city and its defenses, during which time the new Greek government was becoming established, with its capital at Nauplia. On March 31, 1833, the Turks evacuated the city of Athens never more to return. The headquarters of the new Greek government soon after were transferred from Nauplia to Athens, and the ancient city now reduced to a miserable hamlet of scarcely a hundred habitable houses, with a heap of ruins of ancient temples and of bulwarks and houses on her Acropolis, now enters upon a new era, an era of rest from destruction and spoliation, of reconstruction, and of discovery and preservation of the remains of the great past.

#### IV. THE PERIOD OF DISCOVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION.

On the 18th of September, 1834, Athens became the capital of the kingdom of the Hellenes, and the Acropolis the Mecca of students and explorers of ancient art and Greek history. The first excavation on the Acropolis began the year before. This enterprise was undertaken by private subscription, and resulted in clearing away some of the debris about the Parthenon and in finding several slabs of the frieze (225). In August, 1834, systematic excavations at the instigation of King Otho were begun under the leadership of the Munich architect Klenze, to whom thanks are chiefly due for what he failed to accomplish. Klenze cherished the purpose to rebuild the Parthenon out of the architectural fragments that lay strewn about, and to piece these together with mortar and other modern building material. Whoever has seen the two columns of the colonnade on the north side thus pieced together will be thankful that this plan was abandoned. The great work to be done was to clear the surface of the Acropolis, to uncover the foundations of the ancient buildings here buried beneath rubbish and there built upon by mediæval walls and modern structures, and to identify and replace, so far as possible, the remains of ancient architecture and sculpture that



came to light. This work was now entrusted to Ludwig Ross, who was appointed chief conservator of antiquities. With him were associated the architects Schaubert and Hansen, who, besides finding a considerable number of architectural fragments of sculpture, had the glory of discovering the original stones of which the temple of Wingless Victory was built, and of reconstructing this beautiful little building with the original marble. In removing the breastwork before the west front of the Parthenon and the debris piled up on all sides of the temple, the explorers came upon the foundations of the older Parthenon and fragments of the pediment sculptures. During this time (1835) a new danger to the Parthenon was safely passed; the proposal of the architect Schinkel to build on the Acropolis a magnificent modern castle, of which the ancient temple restored should be the chief ornament, fortunately found no favor. Ross was succeeded in his office by the Greek archaeologist Pittakis. Under his zealous but not always intelligent direction the Propylaea was set free from its surrounding rubbish and encompassing walls (1837), and the area of the Erechtheum was cleared out. In 1842 the mosque in the Parthenon, which had been repaired in 1688 after the explosion, was entirely taken away, except the lower part of the minaret which was taken down in 1889. The work of excavation lapsed under the Bavarian administration, to be resumed by the French government in 1852, when, under the supervision of M. Beulé, at that time a member of the French School at Athens, the great Roman stairway and the gate at the bottom, that is generally called after his name, were laid free from the immense Frankish and Turkish bastions built upon and around them (226). Meanwhile the newly-discovered remains of architecture and sculpture became an object of enthusiastic study on the part of students of ancient art. Perhaps the most noteworthy result of the studies of this period is the discovery of the curvature of the lines of the Parthenon, first observed by Pennethorne (see above, p. 93), and afterward (1846-47) worked out with the greatest care by the English architect F. C. Penrose, whose noteworthy contributions to the knowledge of the refinements of Athenian architecture have made students of ancient art for all time his debtors. The French architect Paccard and the English architect Knowles also drew new



plans and restorations of the Parthenon, which form the basis of all subsequent investigations. The archaeological study of the ruins on the Acropolis was resumed in 1862 by a Prussian expedition, whose members were K. Bötticher, Ernst Curtius, and H. Strack. This company of scholars succeeded in laying bare the foundations of the Erechtheum and in excavating the great theatre of Dionysus.

Under the auspices of the Greek government the temple of Asclepius and the portico of Eumenes were excavated in 1876-77. Since the organization of the Archaeological Society of Greece the Greeks themselves have taken the leadership in the excavations on and about the Acropolis. Foremost among the Greek archaeologists and scholars who have been engaged in this work is to be named P. Cavvadias, the National Superintendent of Antiquities. Under his direction began, in 1885, the excavations on the summit of the Acropolis, which were conducted with such thoroughness and care that every square foot of the surface not actually occupied by buildings and foundations was dug up clear down to the bed-rock. This thorough search brought to light the hitherto unknown foundations of the old Hecatompedon so often referred to and first recognized by Dörpfeld as belonging to a temple of Athena, numerous fragments of architecture and sculpture, inscriptions, bronzes, and other relics of ancient art. All the movable objects of art have been stored and placed on exhibition in a suitable museum erected in 1866, and to this structure more recently was added an annex which contains chiefly the inscriptions found on the Acropolis. The latest of the misfortunes that have befallen the hill of Athena was the earthquake that occurred in 1894 and that threatened to complete the ruin of the Parthenon. The dangerous condition of this building was first made known by M. Magne, a French architect, who during a tour of inspection saw a piece from the capital of one of the columns of the west portico fall to the ground. At once an international commission of architects was appointed to adopt measures to preserve the building from further decay. Under their direction large blocks of marble have replaced shattered and disintegrated pieces of the architrave, and several columns have been repaired. Whether further steps will be taken to restore the Parthenon, such as, for

example, the restitution of the columns of the peristyle on the north side, is not yet decided.

An interesting discovery was made in 1896 in connection with the Parthenon by Mr. E. P. Andrews, who was then a member of the American School at Athens. He succeeded in deciphering by aid of the nail prints the bronze inscription which was once affixed to the eastern architrave of the Parthenon. This difficult feat was accomplished by means of obtaining paper-prints or squeezes of the prints of the nail-holes which appeared in twelve groups between the spaces once

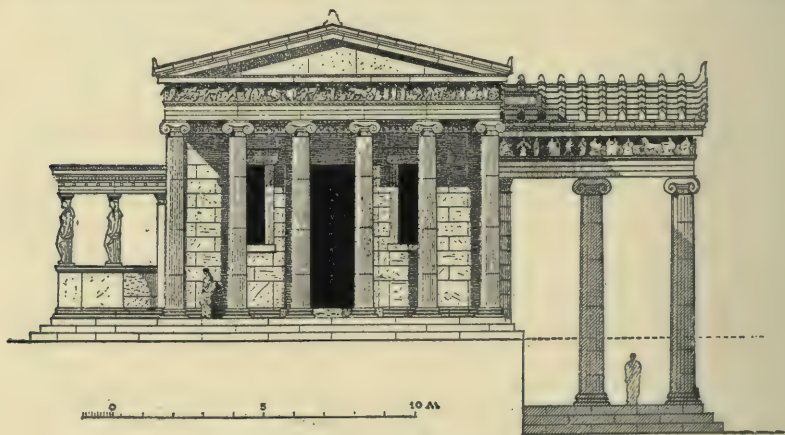


FIG. 134.—East Front of Erechtheum Restored.

apparently occupied by shields hung against the face of the architrave. The inscription (227) dates from 61 A.D., and refers to some honor paid to Nero by the Areopagus, the Senate and the People of Athens. Possibly it accompanied the erection of a statue of Nero in front of the Parthenon.

The most recent repairs on the buildings on the Acropolis are those made on the Erechtheum. These repairs have been skilfully made by the Greek architect, M. Balanos, who has been guided in this undertaking by the recent investigations of Dr. T. W. Heermance, the late Director of the American School at Athens, and by Mr. G. P. Stevens (228) former Fellow in Architecture of the School. The most important of these repairs and restorations have been partly described in our account of this building. From these recent studies it appears





PLATE IX.

THE ACROPOLIS, RESTORED.



that the ancient repairs were not confined to the west wall and the door of the north porch, but that they included also the roof and architrave of this porch and date from an early Roman period.

The recent restoration lends a new beauty and interest to this temple. The magnificent north porch is completely restored, including the coffered ceiling. The columns and part of the architrave of the west wall (see p. 198) have been rebuilt so far as the ancient building material was at hand to give guidance. The porch of "the Maidens" has been repaired and saved from threatening ruin. The partial restoration of the east front and its portico has been made possible. By comparing and fitting together the blocks of marble belonging to this wall Mr. Stevens has demonstrated the existence of two windows, one on each side of the door, as is shown in the cut of his proposed restoration.

Dismissing from view the Acropolis in ruin and its temples undergoing repair, let us turn our glance backward for a moment and behold in fancy the monuments and shrines on the Acropolis restored in all their beauty. The brilliant light of an Athenian sky illumines the temples on the sacred rock of Athena, shining in harmonious colors of white, blue, red and gold. We pass through an avenue lined on either hand with statues of marble and bronze, the choicest products of the art of the greatest masters. Shrines ornamented with votive offerings and altars garlanded for sacrifice awaken a sense of worship. The gods of Olympus and the heroes of Athens are enthroned in visible form in the pediments of the Parthenon. But fancy may be invoked but for a moment. The reality claims our attention more palpably, and yet as we gaze upon the reality before us we exclaim: "What must thy perfectness have been when such thy ruins are!" To know the history of the Acropolis is to know not only the background of the history of Athens; it is also to know the beauty-loving spirit and brilliant genius of the people who dwelt in the city nobly built on the Aegean shore.

## NOTES

1. *Corsair*, canto iii.
2. *Critias*, 112 A.
3. *Life of Sulla*, chap. 13.
4. A complete account of these excavations is given in the 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική, 1897, p. 1.
5. 'Απόλλων 'Υπακράϊος. Cf. Köhler, *A.M.* iii. 144. 'Υποακράϊος, *C.I.A.* iii. 91, 92. Sometimes written ὑπὸ Μακράϊς, or ὑπ' 'Ακράϊς.

6. Verrall's translation.

7. Lucian, *Bis Accus.* 9.

8. Professor Dörpfeld holds that this sanctuary of Apollo was the Pythion mentioned by Thucydides (ii. 15), and that this is the spot where the ship was moored after completing the tour in the Panathenaic procession. Since the Pythion ἀστραπαί (Eur. *Ion*, 285) could not have been observed from the Pythion on the Ilissus, inasmuch as Harma lies to the N.W. of the Acropolis, Strabo (ix. p. 404) also must refer to this oldest Pythion. But Strabo says that the ἐσχάρα τοῦ 'Αστραπαίου Διός was ἐν τῷ τείχει μετὰ τὸν Πυθίον καὶ τοῦ 'Ολυμπίου. This Olympion lay then to the east of the Pythion. The wall referred to by Strabo is that of the Pelargicon and ran to the east of the Pythion. For the reasons urged against this cf. Frazer, *Pausan.* v. 519; Pickard, *Dionysus ἐν Ἀθῆναις*, *A.J.A.* 1893, p. 56 ff.

9. Aglauros is the only form in the inscriptions. But Agrauros is the common form in the MSS. Cf. Preller-Robert, *Myth.* p. 200, Anm. 2.

10. Polyænus, *Strateg.* i. 21.

11. On the Aglaurion see Leake, *Athens*, i. 262; Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, i. 219; Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.* 163; Frazer, *Pausan.* ii. 167. C. H. Weller, *A.J.A.* xii. (1908) p. 68, holds that the Aglaurium is to be located close to the Clepsydra, and not near to the centre of the north side of the Acropolis.

12. Cf. Frazer, *Pausan.* ii. 119; Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.* p. 93.

13. Cf. *J.H.S.* xv. p. 248. Dörpfeld also believes that there was an ancient approach to the Acropolis from the southwest, just below the Nike bastion. Middleton (*J.H.S.* Suppl. Paper No. 3) thinks that here lay the original approach and entrance.

14. See Pausan. i, 22, 3.

15. Dörpfeld identifies the Pythion mentioned by Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 1, 5, with this locality. Others locate the Pythion southwest of the Olympieum. Cf. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, i. 230.

16. Cf. *J.H.S.* xvi. 338.

17. Cf. C. Wachsmuth, *Neue Beiträge zur Topogr. von Athen. Abhand. d. Sächs. Gesells.* 1897. Ernst Maas, *Jahrb. d. k. Arch. Inst.*, xxii. 143, "Der Alte Name der Akropolis," tries to show that the oldest name of the Acropolis was Πλαυκώπιον = owl-hill.

18. Cf. *Archæol. Anzeig.* 1893, p. 140.

19. The Acropolis again became a citadel in the later period of its history. See chapter vii.

20. Cf. *A.M.* xi. 168, xiii. 106.  
 21. Cf. Hdt. v. 71; Thucyd. i. 126; Pausan. i. 28, 1.; Frazer, *Pausan.* ii. 365.  
 22. Schol. Soph. *O.C.* 489.  
 23. Cf. Curtius, *Die Stadtgesch. Athen*, 67.  
 24. Cf. *A.M.* xix. 504.  
 25. Cf. *A.M.* xiv. 325.  
 26. Arist. *Athen. Const.* 20.  
 27. Cf. Diod. Sic. xi. 14.  
 28. Cf. *A.M.* xxvii. 379.  
 29. From *C.I.A.* iv. 2, 27b, 55, it appears that the original form is Πελαργικόν rather than Πελασγικόν. The Greek authors vary between the two.  
 30. The references to these ancient walls are given in Jahn-Mich. *Arx Athen*, p. 79.  
 31. A wall of poros blocks about 2 m. thick running at right angles to the Acropolis and beginning at a point about 20 m. north of the cave of Apollo is taken by Dörpfeld as part of the old fortification. But Judeich (*Topogr.* p. 110) points out that this piece of wall is unlike the Pelasgic walls both in its masonry and material. It appears to be a wall of later construction built for the protection of the Clepsydra.  
 32. Cf. *A.M.* xix. 496, and Plate XIV.; *Antike Denkmäler*, ii. Tafel XXXVII.; Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, p. 29, for account of recent excavations on the western slope of the Acropolis.  
 33. An inscription from Eleusis (Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 20) reads: μηδὲ τοῦς λίθους τέμνειν ἐκ τοῦ Πελαργικοῦ μηδὲ γῆν ἐξάγειν μηδὲ λίθους. Cf. Pollux, viii. 101, μή τις ἐντὸς τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ κείρει ἢ κατὰ πλεόν ἐξορύττει.  
 34. Bekker, *Anecd.* i. p. 419, περιέβαλλον δὲ ἐννεάπυλον τὸ Πελαργικόν. Schol. *Oed. Col.* 489, τὸ ἱερὸν (sc. of Hesychos) ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸ κυλῶνειον ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐννέα πυλῶν.  
 35. Cf. W. Miller, *A.J.A.* viii. 1893, 493.  
 36. Cf. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, i. 123.  
 37. *C.I.A.* iii. 1284, 1285. Cf. Neubauer, *Hermes*, x. 145.  
 38. Dörpfeld, *A.M.* x. 219; xiv. 63.

39. *C.I.A.* ii. 1246; U. Köhler, *A.M.* x. 231.

40. Bursian (*Rhein. Mus.* N.F. x. 485) puts the date of the Beulé gate in the time of Theodosius. Wachsmuth (*Die Stadt Athen*, i. p. 721) puts it after the time of the destruction of the Asclepieum (485 A.D.), and supposed it was erected to put a stop to the heathen processions up the Acropolis. Milchhöfer thinks that this gate is a work of the Frankish period. According to inscriptions of the third century A.D. the gateway seems to have been rebuilt or repaired by one Flavius Marcellinus, and mention is made also of adorning the citadel at the expense of a private individual, but in what these restorations consisted is not clearly known. Cf. *C.I.A.* iii. 397, 398, 826.

41. Burnouf, *La Ville et l'Acropole d'Athènes*, p. 87, holds that this stairway was built by the Florentine dukes. But coins of the Antonine period show the stairway. Cf. Blumer-Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 128.

42. Köster, *Jahrb. d. k. deutsch. arch. Inst.* xxi. 129.

43. Cf. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, i. 540, Anm. 3.

44. Cf. *Bonner Studien*, 1890, p. 92. Also Julius, Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1023, and *A.M.* i. 226.

45. For a more complete account of "the Old Temple" see *A.M.* xi. 337. Besides the remains of this temple there is evidence in the way of architectural and sculptural fragments to warrant the belief in the existence of five smaller pre-Persian buildings of poros. See Wiegand, *Die Archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis*.

46. Cf. *A.M.* (1904), xxix. Tafel VI.

47. Schrader has recently shown (*A.M.* xxx. 305), from a study of the architectural and sculptural fragments found on the Acropolis, that when the peristyle was added the temple was changed from a Doric to an Ionic structure. The columns of the pronaos and of the opisthodomos were lengthened, and the cella wall was



raised by adding at the top an Ionic frieze. After the Persians had destroyed the temple the peristyle was not rebuilt by the Athenians, and on the stylobate, which had not been destroyed, Herms were placed. The architectural form of the old temple thus partially restored furnishes the explanation (1) for the fact that the Parthenon, a Doric building, has an Ionic frieze on its cella, and (2) for the new Erechtheum's being an Ionic building. Cf. Wiegand, *Die Archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis*, p. 109.

48. Dörpfeld's theory is fully discussed by him in *A.M.* xii. 25-61, 190-211; xv. 420-439; xxii. 159-178.

49. This title is given in an inscription dating from 485-4 B.C., first published by Lolling in *Δελτιον* (1890). Cf. *C.I.A.* iv. 1, 18, 19; Jahn-Michael. *Arx Athen.* p. 99; *A.M.* xv. 420.

50. The view that the opisthodomos was either a separate building or that it was the rear part of the Old Temple which alone remained standing is discussed in Appendix III.

51. Eustathius on *Il.* x. 451: 'Αθήνησιν Αἰδοῦς καὶ Ἀφελείας ἦν Βωμός περὶ τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς νεῶν.

52. Cf. *A.M.* xxii. p. 174. Miss Harrison (*Myth. and Mon.* p. 492) agrees with Dörpfeld that Pausanias passed from the Erechtheum into "the Old Temple," but thinks that the description of the Erechtheum and its contents continues through chapter 26, and that the account of the Old Temple begins with chapter 27. Dörpfeld, however, puts the golden lamp of Callimachus mentioned in chapter 26 in "the Old Temple." This point is discussed in Appendix III.

53. For a more complete account of these poros sculptures see Gardner, *Greek Sculpture*, p. 158; Studniczka in *A.M.* xi. 61; Brückner, *ib.* xiv. 67; xv. 84; Sauer, *ib.* xvi. 59. The latest and most complete account is found in the work of Theodor Wiegand and his coadjutors, entitled *Die Archaische Poros-Architektur*

*der Akropolis zu Athen*, 1904. The cut in Jahn-Mich. Fig. iii. Tafel IV. showing on the left side of the pediment Heracles and the Echidna is, according to Wiegand, erroneous; in this space the Heracles-Triton should be placed. Cf. Abb. 110 in Wiegand's work.

54. For a discussion of this marble pediment group see Studniczka, *A.M.* xi. p. 185, and Schrader, *ib.* xxii. p. 59.

55. Cf. Dörpfeld, *A.M.* xi. 162; xxvii. 379. Furtwängler, Appendix to *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, has an interesting discussion of the relation of Themistocles and Cimon to the history of the older Parthenon and of the walls of the Acropolis.

56. Cf. Frazer, *Pausan.* ii. 229.

57. Cf. *A.M.* xi. 165.

58. Gardner (*Ancient Athens*, p. 52) agrees with Dörpfeld in believing that the north wall must have been built, at least in the main, in the time of Themistocles. Its construction is quite unlike that of the walls on the east and south, following the outlines of the rock in a series of short stretches at different angles. This belief rests also on the fact that there are built into this wall so many architectural fragments which belong to buildings destroyed by the Persians.

59. Cf. Michaelis, *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. xvi, 214.

60. Dörpfeld, *A.M.* xvii. 189, observes that Pericles would doubtless have utilized the uninjured drums of the old Parthenon had they not already been built into the north wall. Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 432, note 4) quotes Dörpfeld for the opinion that the part of the north wall that contains the entablature of poros from "the Old Temple" is designed for a level of the surface of the Acropolis (*i.e.* on the inner side of the wall) that was lower than the later level in the time of Pericles, and that in the rebuilding of the north wall at this point the archaic marble statues found buried in this locality were used to build up the level. All this points to the time



of Themistocles as the most probable. Middleton also (*J.H.S.* Suppl. iii. plan vi. and footnote 43) apparently holds this opinion in regard to the date of this wall.

61. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, i. p. 540, doubts if the bastion in its present form is to be regarded as part of the Cimonian plan of fortification, but thinks that Cimon only repaired it, and that the bastion in its present form plainly was made to conform to the whole scheme of the Propylaea of Mnesicles.

62. *A.M.* xxvii. 406.

63. For a full account of Weller's investigations see *A.J.A.* (Second Series), viii. 35.

64. For an account of the remains of the older Parthenon see F. C. Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, p. 98; E. Ziller, *Zeitsch. f. Bauwesen*, 1865, p. 39; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 419; Dörpfeld, *A.M.* xvii. 158; Bötticher, *Akropolis*, p. 97; Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 119.

65. According to Penrose the centre of the west front of the new temple is set 8.6 feet farther north than that of the substructure of the older Parthenon.

66. Those who wish to study more minutely the curvature of the lines of the foundations of the Parthenon are referred to the work of Penrose cited above, and also to Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 5 and 18; Bötticher, *Akropolis*, p. 99; Dörpfeld, *A.M.* xvii. 187.

67. K. Bötticher, *Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis von Athen*, 1863; Durm, *Die Baukunst der Griechen*, p. 168.

68. For an account of their discovery cf. Walter Miller, *A.J.A.* ii. 1886, 61.

69. For a more extended description of these statues see Gardner, *Greek Sculpture*, p. 164, and the same writer's account in *J.H.S.* viii. 159.

70. The offering need not have been made to Poseidon, but may have been to Athena. Cf. *C.I.A.* iv. 1. 373, 9; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge Epigr. Graec.* No. 256; Kastriotis, *A.M.* xix. p. 493; Lolling,

Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως, part i. p. 120.

71. A gradation of these archaic statues with reference to their style and finish is made by Edmund von Mach, *A.J.A.* second series, vi. 51.

72. This identification is rejected by Lechat, *Revue des Études Grecques*, v. 385; vi. 22, who argues that the statue which Pausanias saw must have been made after the Persian invasion, since if it had been set up earlier it must have been destroyed in the sack of Athens. Cf. Frazer, *Pausan.* v. 513.

73. In *A.M.* v. p. 20, this statue is discussed by Furtwängler, but is published with a head that does not belong to it. The original head was found in the excavations of 1888. Cf. Collignon, *Hist. Sculpt. Grec.* i. p. 373.

74. Cf. Collignon, *Hist. Sculpt. Grec.* i. p. 381, note 1; Studniczka, *A.M.* xii. 372.

75. H. N. Fowler, *Harvard Studies*, xii. 211, has shown that this tradition rests solely on the statement of Plutarch (*Pericl.* 13), who drew upon sources of doubtful authority. Cf. also von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristotle und Athen*, ii. 100.

76. Loeschke, *Historische Untersuchungen*, p. 39, puts the beginning of the Parthenon in 447-6 and its completion in 435-4. This is also the view of Dümmler, *Athena*, in Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 1954.

77. Cf. U. Wilcken, *Hermes*, xlii. p. 374.

78. Cavvadias, *Ἐφ. ἀρχ.* 1897, 174. Dörpfeld, *A.M.* xxii. 227.

79. Herodotus, viii. 51-55; Thucydides, i. 126.

80. The subject of the tiling of Greek temples is fully treated in Wilkin's *Pro-lusiones Architectonicae*. Cf. also Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 117.

81. Cf. Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 24, 112; Bötticher, *Akropolis*, p. 123.

82. Such a clerestory arrangement is seen in the model of the Parthenon in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

83. Dörpfeld, "Untersuchungen am Parthenon," *A.M.* vi. 283.

84. L. Magne, *Le Parthénon*, p. 49, finds it difficult to believe that a second row of columns, superimposed upon a lower row, should have been planned by the architects of the Parthenon except as a support for galleries or for a second story.

85. Cf. *A.M.* xxii. 170; *Rhein. Mus.* liii. p. 258.

86. Cf. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 325, for the relation of the Hellenotamiai to the treasurers of Athena.

87. Cf. C. Bötticher, *Tektonik*, iv. 409; *Philologus*, xvii. 408, 603, xviii. 385; *Archaeol. Zeit.* xv. 65; E. Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, pp. 1-94, 300; Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 28.

88. The names of the Parthenon in the inscriptions and ancient writers, besides the one under discussion, are these: ὁ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεώς; νεώς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Παρθένων κατισκευασθῆς; ἑκατόμπεδος; Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν; ὁ μέγας ναός; ὁ καλούμενος Παρθένων.

89. For more details see Fraser, *Pausanias*, ii. 312.

90. Cf. Waldstein, *Art of Pheidias*, p. 272.

91. Cf. *Bull. d. la Corr. Hellén.* xiii. 174.

92. Cf. Bruno Sauer, "Untersuchungen über die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon," *A.M.* xvi. 58.

93. The drawings attributed to Carrey and kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale give views of this pediment. Facsimiles of these views are found in the British Museum and in Laborde, *Le Parthénon*; Omont, *Dessins des Sculptures du Parthénon*. For proposed restorations see Waldstein's *Art of Pheidias*, p. 139; Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 164; E. Petersen, *Die Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 105; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Grk. Sculpt.* ii. p. 15; *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, chapt. iii.; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, App. p. 451.

94. For the different interpretations of the composition of the western pediment-group see C. T. Newton, *Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon*; Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p.

180; Waldstein, *Art of Pheidias*, p. 107; Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 274 and *Ancient Athens*, p. 295; A. S. Murray, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, chapt. iii. iv.; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Parthenon*; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 451.

95. Michaelis has erroneously assigned these heads to the horses of the chariot of Athena. Cf. Murray, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, p. 17.

96. For a discussion of this question see Lloyd, *Classical Museum*, v. 407; Robert, *Hermes*, xvi. p. 60; Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, p. 115; *Hermes*, xvii. p. 130; Murray, *Hist. of Grk. Sculpt.* ii. 85.

97. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts contains the casts of all the extant slabs of the frieze admirably placed for inspection and study.

98. Cf. *A.M.* viii. 57; *Bull. de la Corr. Hellén.* xiii. 169.

99. Cf. A. S. Murray, *Revue Archeol.* xxxviii. 1879, 139.

100. On the polychromy of the Parthenon see Penrose, *The Principles of Athenian Architecture*, chap. xiii.; Fenger, *Dorische Polychromie*; Borrmann, Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, Art. "Polychromie"; Durm, *Handbuch der Architektur*, 2 Theil, Band 1, p. 180; Theod. Alt, *Die Grenzen der Kunst*.

101. The results of his experiments on the patina of the marble of the Parthenon were kindly communicated to me by Professor Alfred Emerson, who is led to believe that the Parthenon and marble buildings generally were sized, sculptures and all, with a skin of calcareous matter, and that this artificial tinting is meant when Vitruvius says that the ochre quarries of Attica were exhausted by the old time practice of painting the buildings with ochre.

102. Cf. Dörpfeld, *A.M.* x. 219, 228.

103. Cf. Demosth. vs. *Androtion*, 13; Plutarch, *de Gloria Athen.* 7.

104. Cf. R. Bohn, *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen*; Milchhöfer, *Athen*, p. 200 and *Propyläen*, p. 1414 in Bau-

meister's *Denkmäler*; Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, p. 224.

105. That these doors were of wood may be inferred from the chorus in Aristoph. *Lys.* 311: ἐμπυμπράναι χρή τὰς θύρας.

106. There is no evidence that chariots ever went up the Acropolis, although they are pictorially represented as participating in the procession on the Parthenon frieze. The supposed ruts worn in the rocks are channels cut into the surface to carry off the water.

107. Cf. Bursian, *Rhein. Mus.* x. 506.

108. Care should be taken not to mistake a row of holes *below* the cornice in the east wall of the northwest wing as the holes intended to receive the roof beams of the projected hall. These together with the windows below them were cut into the wall later, when the halls of the Propylaea were built over to serve as a residence for the Frankish lords.

109. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 443, thinks that the pediments were not designed to remain empty.

110. Cf. Frazer, *Pausan.* v. 507. Cf. *A.M.* xxii. 227.

111. Cf. P. Wolters, *Bonner Studien*, 1890, p. 92, *Zum Alter des Niketempels*.

112. Cf. Köster, *Jahrb. d. k. d. arch. Inst.* xxi. (1906) p. 129.

113. Cf. Furtwängler, *Sitzb. d. k. Bayr. Akad.* 1898, i. p. 385.

114. Puchstein, *Ionisches Kapitäl*, 1887, p. 14.

115. That there was some delay in the execution of the decree to build the temple of Victory seems to be the opinion also of Gardner (*Ancient Athens*, p. 373), though on another page (217) of his book he seems inclined to hold the view that the building of this temple was at least begun earlier in this period than that of any other on the Acropolis.

116. Cf. R. Kekulé, *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena*.

117. B. Sauer, "Das Göttergericht über Asia und Hellas," *Aus der Anomia*, p. 96.

118. Cf. Michaelis, *Die Zeit des Neubaus des Poliestempels in Athen*, *A.M.* xiv. 364.

119. *C.I.A.* i. 322: Michaelis, *A.M.* xiv. 349.

120. *C.I.A.* i. 321, 323, 324; iv. 1, 3, p. 148.

121. The latest researches in regard to the building history of the Erechtheum are given in *A.J.A.* second series, x. 1-16. From these the following results are drawn: In 409, late summer, the bare walls are up as far as the epistyle. In the spring of 408 the east cella is complete and probably occupied. In the spring of 407 the sculptural ornamentation of the building is completed and the western apartments are roofed over. In the summer of the same year the building is practically finished.

122. Cf. A. S. Cooley, *A.J.A.* second series, iii. 352.

123. It is possible to read with Dörpfeld, in line 1 of the inscription *C.I.A.* ii. 829 [ἐπὶ] [Καλλιό(ν)] ἀρχο[ντος], and to date it in 406-5.

124. Cf. Borrmann, *A.M.* vi. 386. The space between the fourth column and the southern anta adjoining the portico of "the Maidens" seems never to have been built up, as is shown by the finish of the anta. This agrees with the building inscriptions: (*C.I.A.* iv. 1, 321) τὰ μετακίονια τέτταρα ὄντα τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου, and τῶν κίωνων τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου.

125. *C.I.A.* i. 324 a, col. 1, lines 35-37.

126. The column that originally stood at the north corner was carried away by Lord Elgin and is now in the British Museum. About 56 pieces of the frieze are preserved in the Acropolis Museum.

127. In 1846 the portico of the Maidens was in danger of falling and was partly restored at the expense of the French ambassador then residing at Athens. Recent restorations of the Erechtheum include also this portico.

128. Cf. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 434. Michaelis and Petersen cannot be



right in explaining the word *προστομαῖον* as the space in front of the spring.

129. Cf. Michaelis, *Jahrb. d. k. deutsch. arch. Inst.* xvii. 18.

130. The coarse foundation cross-wall further east, making a small rectangle with the two parallel cross-walls, is of later, probably Byzantine origin.

131. E. Petersen, *A.M.* x. 7, believes that there was no need of any stairway to communicate between the eastern and western chambers, for the reason that the north and south porches and their stairways sufficed to give access to the western half of the building.

132. Carl Bötticher, the chief supporter of the theory that the Erechtheum had two stories west of the eastern cross-wall, erroneously takes five slits in the north and south walls to be basement windows to light a basement story. H. N. Fowler, *Papers of the Amer. School*, i. p. 222, has shown that these were probably made when the Christians used this building as a church to give light to the side aisles.

133. The word *διπλὸν* clearly refers to an upper and lower story in *Lysias*, i. 9. Cf. Judeich, *Topogr.* p. 250, 9. Cf. Schubart, *Philol.* xv. 397 for a different opinion.

134. M. F. Nilsson (*J.H.S.* xxi. 325) believes that he has found the mark of the trident in the crypt beneath the central chamber "in the corner between the west transverse wall and the (more recent) north longwall, just in front of the so-called (postern) in the north wall." This opinion has found no favor, partly because the marks referred to by Nilsson are too indistinct, and also in view of the recent discovery of the opening in the ceiling of the north portico which was intended to give light to the crypt below it, in which the trident mark is usually located. Cf. Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, p. 358.

135. Cf. R. Borrmann, *A.M.* vi. 381.

136. Cf. Herodotus, viii. 41; Plutarch, *Themist.* 10.

137. The remains of an altar found in

the excavations eastward of the north porch (cf. Lolling, *Topogr.* Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch*, p. 351) may belong to that of Zeus Polieus, in whose honor the ox was slain at the Bouphonia.

138. *C.I.A.* i. 322, col. i, 79; col. ii. 95; iii. 244.

139. Cf. Pseudo-Plut. *Vitae X Orat.* 843. Since the discovery that there were windows in the east wall Dörpfeld is inclined to believe that the pictures of the Butadae were kept in the east cella.

140. The question whether there was any direct means of communication between the east and the west chambers of the Erechtheum is discussed in Appendix III.

141. On this point see what Gurlitt (*Pausan.* pp. 75 and 350) has to say.

142. Dörpfeld, *A.M.* xxix. 101.

143. Dörpfeld believes that the peplos was dedicated to the Athena of the Parthenon and that this is implied in the scene represented on the central slab of the east frieze.

144. Euripides, *Ion*, 20 ff. and 267-274 gives a different version of the story from that found in Pausanias. Cf. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.* xxvi.

145. Cf. Durm, *Baukunst der Griechen*, 2<sup>te</sup> Aufl. 257.

146. *C.I.A.* i. 324.

147. The view expressed in the text is based on the discussion of R. W. Schultz, *J.H.S.* xii. 1, and on the later observations of the architect, G. P. Stevens.

148. The Caryatids of the south porch are not the only nor the earliest examples of figures of this sort. At Delphi the French have found four similar figures which appear to date from the close of the sixth century.

149. On this question see Dörpfeld, *A.M.* xix. 147, xx. 161, 368; Judeich, *Topogr.* p. 263 and note 10; Harrison, *Prim. Ath.* p. 83; Frazer, *Pausan.* ii. 212, v. 495; Capps, *Class. Philol.* ii. 25; Carroll, *Class. Rev.* xix. 325.

150. For a full account of the Dionysiac theatre at Athens see Dörpfeld und Reisch,



*Das Griechische Theater.* Cf. also J. R. Wheeler, "The Theatre of Dionysus," *Papers of the Amer. School at Athens*, i.; Kawerau, "Theatergebäude," *Baumeister's Denkmäler*, p. 1734; Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, chapt. iii.; Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 271; Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, p. 433; Fraser, *Pausan.* ii. p. 222, v. p. 501.

151. Cf. Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, p. 439.

152. Cf. Dörpfeld und Reisch, *l.c.* p. 50.

153. Cf. Gardner, *l.c.* p. 443. Puchstein, *Die Griech. Bühne*, p. 131.

154. For these Satyrs see Von Sybel, *Katalog der Skulpturen zu Athen*, No. 4992.

155. Cf. Von Prott, *A.M.* xxvii. 294.

156. *C.I.A.* iii. 239.

157. Cf. Appian, *Bell. Mithr.* p. 38. For a further account of the Odeum of Pericles see E. Hiller, "Die Athenischen Odeen und der προαγών," *Hermes*, vii. 393; Dörpfeld, "Die verschiedenen Odeien in Athen," *A.M.* xvii. 252.

158. For the Thrasylus monument see Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, ii. 24. The inscriptions on the monument are found in *C.I.A.* ii. 3, 1247, 1292, 1293. A good account of this monument is given by Reisch in *A.M.* xiii. 383. Frazer (*Pausan.* ii. 231) holds that the upper part of the present structure is part of the original building, and that, since Pausanias mentions only one tripod, Thrasycles may not have set up tripods at all but may have contented himself simply with engraving two commemorative inscriptions on his father's monument.

159. Quoted by Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, i. p. 734: ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ὠρολόγιον τῆς ἡμέρας μαρμαρίτικον.

160. The lack of space for a tomb and for the sanctuary of Perdix in this locality leads some to believe that the tomb of Calos lay lower down the slope and that its remains may be some foundations near the southeast corner of the portico of Eumenes.

161. Another conjecture is that this pit was the abode of the sacred serpent connected with the cult of Asclepius.

162. P. Girard, "L'Asclépieion d'Athènes" p. 6, believes that there were two temples of Asclepius, an older and a younger, and identifies the foundations marked 29 in our plan as those of the younger temple. His belief is based partly on an inscription of the Roman period which speaks of repairs of an "old temple" (*C.I.A.* ii. i. Add. 489b). Köhler and Milchhöfer regard the foundations marked 29 as belonging to the temple of Themis, and believe that the younger temple of Asclepius stood on or near the foundations of the building marked in our plan as an altar.

163. The introduction of the cult of Asclepius in Athens is shown by von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff to have occurred in the time of the Peloponnesian war. Cf. Körte, *Bezirk eines Heilgottes*, *A.M.* xviii. 246; *A.M.* xxi. 315.

164. Cf. Harrison, *Prim. Athens*, p. 100.

165. Cf. Von Duhn, "Votivreliefs an Asklepios und Hygieia," *A.M.* ii. 214; *Archaeol. Zeit.* xxxv. 139.

166. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen*, ii. p. 53, expresses some doubt whether this destruction of the buildings on the south side of the Acropolis is to be charged to the Catalans. There is no evidence to show that this quarter of the city was still occupied as late as the beginning of the fourteenth century.

167. Cf. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.* p. cliii.; Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, i. p. 245, suggests that the Hippolyteum would naturally be placed close to the Asclepieum since it was Asclepius who had resuscitated Hippolytus to life. Cf. *Pausan.* ii. 27, 4.

168. Leake, *Topogr. of Athens*, i. p. 302, puts all these buildings near to the western entrance of the Acropolis, and disposes of the difficulty that Troezen was not visible from this point by supposing that the poet simply meant that Troezen could be seen from the southern slope of the Acropolis.

169. Cf. Foucart, *Bull. de la Corr. Hellén.* xiii. 156; Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.* p. 331; Weilbach-Kawerau, *A.M.* xxx. 298.

170. Cf. Lolling, *A.M.* xi. 322; Dörpfeld, *ibid.* xiv. 63.

171. Cf. Dörpfeld, *A.M.* x. 219, xiv. 63; Köhler, *ibid.* x. p. 231.

172. Cf. Köhler, "Hallenanlage am Südfusse der Akropolis zu Athen," *A.M.* iii. 147; Dörpfeld, "Die Stoa des Eumenes zu Athen," *A.M.* xiii. 100; Frazer, *Pausan.* ii. 240.

173. Fr. Babin and the Vienna Anonymous call the Odeum the Areopagus. A drawing of the Acropolis called Castello di Athene, made in 1670 (cf. *A.M.* ii. 39), calls it the School of the Peripatetigs.

174. The most complete account of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus has been written by W. P. Tuckermann. Cf. also Baumeister's *Denkmäler d. klass. Alter.* p. 1748; A. Bötticher, *Die Akropolis von Athen*, p. 291.

175. Tuckermann's exact figure arrived at by careful calculation is 4772.

176. Cf. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 258.

177. *C.I.A.* iv. 1, 3, p. 183, No. 418h.; Lolling, *Δελτιον*, 1889, p. 179; *J.H.S.* xi. 211; Judeich, *Topogr.* p. 210, note 3.

178. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, i. p. 140, concludes that the Graces must have stood either in the portico of the southern wing of the Propylaea, or in this southern wing itself. He decides in favor of the latter and thinks that the chamber in the rear of the wing may have been the sanctuary of the Graces.

179. Cf. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.* p. 374.

180. Hesychius: 'Ερμῆς Ἀμύητος: Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει.

181. Cf. Conze, *A.M.* xxix. 179; Winter, *ibidem*, 208.

182. *C.I.A.* i. 402; Loewy, *Inscript. Griech. Bildhauer*, No. 46.

183. *C.I.A.* i. 335; Hicks, *Greek Hist. Inscript.* No. 36.

184. For further discussion on the location of this altar see Michaelis, *A.M.* i. 293; Frazer, *Pausan.* ii. 281. On the monument of "Health Athena" see Bohn, *A.M.* v. 331; Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.* p. 391; Wolters, *A.M.* xvi. 153.

185. Cf. Beulé, *L'Acropole*, i. p. 291; Dörpfeld, "Chalkothek und Ergane Tempel," *A.M.* xiv. 304.

186. For the cult of Brauronian Artemis see Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, i. p. 206, 4; *ibid.* p. 444, 30; Frazer, *Pausan.* iv. p. 224.

187. *C.I.A.* i. 406. Pausanias (ix. 30, 1) remarks that Strongylon was extremely skilful in modelling oxen and horses.

188. *C.I.A.* ii. 1428, 1429, 1434, 1438; iv. 1, 3, 373, p. 205. Cf. Jahn-Mich. *Arx Athen*, p. 125.

189. Dörpfeld, *A.M.* xii. 52, 210; xiv. 306.

190. Hutton, "Votive Reliefs in the Acropolis Museum," *J.H.S.* xvii. 308, makes the point that Athena Ergane had not been clearly differentiated from Athena Polias at the time to which the reliefs discussed by him belong, i.e. the close of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century, and that "in this indistinctness of thought we should seek the solution of the problem as to whether Athena Ergane had a special temple on the Acropolis or not." He is of the opinion that offerings might well be placed in the Polias temple and the latter goddess be called ἐργασίονος, referring to the work of weaving the peplos which was begun at the feast of Athena Ergane under the supervision of her priestess and of the Arrephoroi.

191. Cf. Frazer, *Pausan.* iv. 53.

192. Cf. Dörpfeld, "Chalkothek und Ergane-Tempel," *A.M.* xiv. 304.

193. See the inventories of 329-324 B.C. in *C.I.A.* ii. 807a.

194. Cf. Köhler in *C.I.A.* ii. 61.

195. Cf. *Hermes*, iv. 381. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 468, discusses an Attic seal and two bronze coins of Krannon relative to the question

of determining the type of this image of Earth praying for rain.

196. Cf. Michaelis, *A.M.* i. 304; Winter, *Jahrb. d. k. d. arch. Inst.* ix. (Arch. Anzeig.), p. 43.

197. *C.I.A.* iii. 63.

198. *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 1884.

199. Cf. Michaelis, *A.M.* ii. 5; *Jahrb. d. k. d. Arch. Inst.* viii. (1893), p. 119.

200. Cf. Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. p. 181; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpt. Grec.* i. p. 337.

201. Cf. Dörpfeld, *A.M.* xii. 51.

202. *C.I.A.* ii. 1378-1385, 1390-1393; iii. 887, 916-918.

203. *C.I.A.* ii. 1377, 1386, 1392 b.

204. Benndorf, *A.M.* i. 48, believes that a round base of Pentelic marble which now stands west of the Parthenon, may have supported the statue of Lysimache. This base is about a foot high and two feet wide, and shows on its upper surface the print of a left foot. A mutilated inscription (*C.I.A.* ii. 1376) warrants the belief that the statue represented a priestess of Athena.

205. Cf. C. H. Weller, "The Pre-Periclean Propylon," *A.J.A.* second series, viii. 35. See also Hitzig-Blümner, *Pausan.* i. p. 304; Michaelis, *A.M.* ii. 95; Walter Miller, *A.J.A.* viii. 1893, 503.

206. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 9, places the statues of Pericles and of the Lemnian Athena outside of the Propylaea, a little to the north of the principal avenue which ran from the Propylaea eastward. But see Weizsäcker, *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol.* 133 (1886), p. i.; Hauvette, *Hérod.* p. 47; Judeich, *Topogr.* p. 216.

207. Cf. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 10. Weighty reasons for rejecting the view of Furtwängler are given by P. Jamot, a summary of which is found in Frazer, *Pausan.* v. p. 514.

208. The Capucins in their plan of Athens, 1669, speak of the Parthenon as dedicated to St. Sophia, while the Jesuit Babin in 1672 refers to it as the temple of *la Sagesse Eternelle*. This shows that a tradition had grown up connecting Athena's

temple with St. Sophia. Cf. Strykowski, *A.M.* xiv. 270.

209. C. Bötticher, *Untersuchungen auf der Akropolis von Athen*, p. 159, speaks of finding a cornice block of the east pediment built into the apse. From this it appears that the roof was broken by the construction of the apse.

210. Cf. F. von Duhn, *A.M.* ii. 38.

211. Cf. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen*, ii. p. 311.

212. R. Bohn, *Die Propylæen*, p. 7, attributes the building of this tower to the Turks. Herzberg, *Athen*, pp. 102 and 226, ascribes it to the Burgundian dukes.

213. Burnouf, *La Ville et l'Acropole d'Athènes*, p. 85, places these walls in the Turkish period.

214. For this period and the next the work of de Laborde, *Athènes aux 15, 16 et 17 Siècles*, is invaluable.

215. Cf. Judeich, *A.M.* xxii. 423; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, i. Anhang, for early accounts of the ruins and relics of ancient Athens.

216. Cf. Michaelis, *Parthenon Atlas*, Plates IV., VII., XIII., XIV. for reproduction of these drawings.

217. J. R. Wheeler, *Class. Review*, xv. 430, makes out a good case in favor of this occurrence having taken place some ten years earlier.

218. This letter is published in Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, i. p. 745. The collection of references in the ancient writers to the Parthenon made by Meursius (*Cecropia*) is of great value. Cf. Wachsmuth, *l.c.* i. p. 64.

219. For the errors and omissions in Carrey's drawings see Michaelis, *der Parthenon*, p. 102. These drawings are kept in the Cabinet des Estampes of the National Library in Paris. In *L'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1900, p. 262, M. Babelon calls attention to the fact that Albert Vaudal in his *L'Odyssée d'un Ambassadeur* (1670-1680) expresses the opinion that the drawings made for the Marquis de Nointel are the work of an unknown Flemish artist



and not of Carrey who met de Nointel for the first time in 1695, nearly two years after the drawings were made. This opinion is held also by H. Omont in his work entitled *Athènes au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*.

220. Cf. W. Miller, "A History of the Acropolis," *A.J.A.* viii. 1893, 548.

221. It is probable that two of the columns of the pronaos were taken down by the Byzantians when they remodelled the Parthenon and built the apse of their church.

222. Many interesting particulars connected with the purchase and removal of the Elgin Marbles are given by Michaelis in his *Parthenon*, pp. 74, 348. A catalogue of the Elgin collection prepared from the MS. of Visconti is found on p. 356. One of the most interesting facts in the history of this collection is the foundering of one of the vessels laden with sculpture on the voyage, off the island of Cerigo. The

cargo, after three fruitless attempts had been made to raise the ship bodily, was finally recovered by divers, without suffering serious damage.

223. Cf. Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, i. p. 322.

224. The Clepsydra had doubtless been included within the line of fortifications built by the Florentine dukes. Cf. Gregorovius, *Die Stadt Athen*, ii. p. 309.

225. Cf. Ludwig Ross, *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland*, p. 237.

226. In memory of Beulé's discovery a marble slab has been erected just inside of the gate, bearing this inscription: ἡ Γαλλία τὴν τε πύλιν τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως τὰ τείχη, τοὺς πύργους, καὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν κεχωσμένα ἐξεκάλυψεν. Βεουλὲ εὗρεν.

227. Cf. *A.J.A.* xi. 1896, 230.

228. Cf. Dörpfeld, *A.M.* xxviii. 465; G. P. Stevens, *A.J.A.* second series, x. 47.



## APPENDIX I

### SOURCES, PAUSANIAS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

#### A. SOURCES

THE original sources for the history of the Acropolis may be classified as Monumental, Inscriptional, Numismatic and Literary, or, more particularly, the descriptions of ancient travellers (*περιηγηταί*).

Of these the most valuable are naturally the buildings and monuments, even though we have only their ruins. The style of their construction, the nature of their material, and the purposes which they served can still be learned from their extant remains, which furnish the most reliable and sometimes the only information we have concerning their history.

Next in importance are the inscriptions, cut sometimes on slabs of stone which serve as records of public decrees and acts, sometimes on pedestals of statues and other monuments to indicate their origin and dedication, sometimes on boundary stones to mark off sacred precincts.

Some of these inscriptions are of the greatest value in the study of the topography of the Acropolis and history of its buildings. As examples may be cited the inscription which identifies the temple of Roma and Augustus (not mentioned by Pausanias), the rock-cut inscription to Γῆ, *the Earth*, the ὄρος κρήνης inscription on the southern slope of the Acropolis, and the famous Hecatompedon inscription so often referred to in these pages. A carefully made collection of the inscriptions pertaining to the history of the Acropolis is contained in the *Appendix Epigraphica* to Jahn-Michaelis's *Arx Athenarum* (third edition, 1901).

The inscriptions pertaining to the Parthenon are to be found in Anhang I. to Michaelis's work on that temple. A serviceable

collection, made by A. Milchhöfer, of inscriptions and of references in ancient writers, classified according to subject matter, is contained in Curtius's *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*.

Among the sources of information on the history of the Acropolis a place should be given to the coins on which various localities and buildings and monuments are represented (see cut 126 taken from Jahn-Mich.). A numismatic commentary on Pausanias, prepared by Imhoof-Blumer and Percy Gardner, is particularly to be mentioned. That portion of it which pertains to the Acropolis is found in the eighth volume (pp. 21-38) of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

Aside from the writers of descriptions of Athens (περιηγηταί), of whom more presently, valuable though often scanty information about the Acropolis can be gained from the ancient authors. Those in whose writings most frequent reference to the Acropolis is made are Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristophanes, Plato, Plutarch, and Lucian.

The idea of writing an account of Athens and its monuments in any systematic form could have arisen only after the city had passed the zenith of its glory and political power, and men began to talk of a greatness that was past. So Athens, still beautiful in her decline, became more and more a desired goal for the sightseer and the traveller. Fondness for travel was rather characteristic of the ancient Greek, and we may be sure that the violet-wreathed city attracted many a tourist from different parts of the Hellenic world long before Pausanias made his visit. Centuries before his time the comic poet Lysippus expressed his appreciation of Athens as follows:

“If you have not seen Athens, you’re a stock;  
If you have seen it, and are not taken with it, you’re an ass;  
If you are glad to leave it, you’re a pack-ass.”

It is natural that the increase of travellers to the ancient city should give rise to the existence of a class of men who correspond to the modern guide, and should stimulate the writing of guide-books like our Baedeker and Murray. The earliest of books describing Athens and its monuments was written by one Diodorus, who appears to have been a genuine periegete or literary tourist and to have lived in the second half of the fourth century B.C. The extant fragments of his work are contained in C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* ii. 353. Next to Diodorus in time is Heracleides of Clazomenae, who wrote in the third century B.C. a description of the cities of Greece (περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι πόλεων), fragments of which have come down under the name of Dicæarchus (cf. Müller, *Fragm.*

*Hist. Graec.* ii. 254). Of more importance was the lost work of Polemon who flourished in the early part of the second century B.C. and seems to have devoted his great erudition to a general description of the Hellenic world. Best known were his monograph in four books on the Acropolis of Athens and his account of the sacred way to Eleusis. Little is left of these writings (*Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iii. 108). The most learned of these literary guides that preceded Pausanias was Heliodorus of Athens, who lived not much later than Polemon and is a probable source for Books 34, 35 of Pliny's history. (On this point see Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, i. 36). Heliodorus wrote, according to Athenaeus (vi. 229 E), fifteen books "On the Acropolis at Athens." From citations in later writers it is inferred that only portions of the first book or of the first three books dealt with the Acropolis. Of this doubtless valuable work but little is preserved (cf. Keil. *Hermes*, xxx. 199).

In the first century B.C. and of our own era no descriptive accounts of Athens are known to have been written. The geographers Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and the historian Pliny furnish scanty material for a study of the Acropolis.

It is in the second century A.D., in the reign of the Antonines, that we meet with the periegete Pausanias, the only one of his class whose writings have been preserved. His work is a description of Greece in ten books, the first of which treats of Attica and Megaris. This first book was written not earlier than 143 A.D., the date when the Panathenaic Stadium was rebuilt of white marble by Herodes Atticus (Paus. i. 19, 6), and probably not later than 161 A.D., the year of the death of Regilla, in whose honor Herodes Atticus built his magnificent Music Hall, which is not mentioned in this book but, as a subsequent addition, in the seventh book (vii. 20, 6).

The description of Athens with its numerous monuments and its wealth of traditions was the most difficult part of the old traveller's task. That Pausanias began his undertaking with this, the most complicated part, is perhaps unfortunate. At any rate, had his hand become more adjusted to its work it may reasonably be supposed that the first book would have shown more of the skill and order in the handling of his material that appears in the later books, and that accordingly there would have been fewer excursions and episodes to mar the even course of the narration, and perhaps an occasional addition or explanation to give his account more completeness.



The task which Pausanias set himself was to write a handbook (ἐξήγησις) for intelligent travellers. In carrying out this purpose he felt that it was necessary to introduce into his description many matters pertaining to art criticism, mythology, geography and religion.

The description of "the sights" (θεωρήματα) of the city is doubtless based upon "autopsy." But this again is doubtless interwoven with what Pausanias borrowed from the older literature of this kind, impossible though it be to determine what is original and what is borrowed.

The question of the trustworthiness and originality of Pausanias has been much discussed, and extreme views have been held by both his defenders and detractors (cf. Judeich, *Topogr. von Athen*, p. 12).

A satisfactory treatment of this question is given by Frazer in the introduction to his translation of Pausanias. The conclusions at which Frazer arrives are briefly these: That Pausanias made a conscientious, even at times a critical use of the poets and the historians from whom he had to draw his legendary and traditional material; that he was generally careful and correct in the reading of inscriptions and did not accept their testimony blindfold; that he was in the main a trustworthy observer and eye-witness; that he was often overwhelmed with a sense of religious awe; and that he pictured for us Greece as it was in his own day and as he saw it. This does not mean, however, that he was free from error and prejudice. But he was not "hide-bound in the trammels of tradition," and often criticized myths and legends "according to his lights." In his description of monuments of architecture and sculpture we detect a partiality for whatever was antique, extraordinary and mysterious, and also a sound though somewhat austere artistic taste.

The literary style of Pausanias is characterized by Frazer as "loose, clumsy, ill-jointed, ill-compacted, rickety, ramshackle, without ease or grace or elegance of any sort."

In the excerpt from Frazer's skilful translation given below we can hardly realise this "rickety" and "ramshackle" quality of the style of Pausanias.

After Pausanias we have no connected account of the city of Athens until the close of the fourteenth century. During this long interval only brief notices and incidental references constitute the sources of the history of the Acropolis. Most of these are



found in the Scholia to Aristophanes, the lexicons of Harpocratium, Pollux, Hesychius, Photius, Suidas, the Etymologicum Magnum, and the so-called Lexica Segueriana in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*. Important and helpful as many of these notices are, they cannot lay claim, on account of the lateness of their origin, to the same weight of authority that belongs to the classic writers themselves, and to the inscriptions.

With the close of the fourteenth century begins the series of modern descriptive writings and of plans and drawings devoted to an account of the Acropolis and its monuments. Inasmuch as these deal with the later fortunes of the Acropolis they are included in our last chapter; to name them here would be a useless repetition.

## B. PAUSANIAS'S DESCRIPTION OF THE ACROPOLIS AND ITS MONUMENTS

(Book I. Chapters xx. 2—xxviii. 4, with omission of digressions.)

### XX.

2. But the oldest sanctuary of Dionysus is beside the theatre. Within the enclosure there are two temples and two images of Dionysus, one surnamed Eleutherian, and the other made by Alcamenes of ivory and gold.

3. Near the sanctuary of Dionysus and the theatre is a structure said to have been made in imitation of the tent of Xerxes. It was rebuilt, for the old edifice was burned by the Roman general Sulla, when he captured Athens.

### XXI.

1. In the theatre at Athens there are statues of tragic and comic poets, but most of the statues are of poets of little mark. For none of the renowned comic poets was there except Menander. Among the famous tragic poets there are statues of Euripides and Sophocles.

4. On what is called the south wall of the Acropolis, which faces towards the theatre, there is a gilded head of the Gorgon Medusa, and round about the head is wrought an aegis. 5. At the top of the theatre is a cave in the rocks under the Acropolis; and over this cave is a tripod. In it are figures of Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe.

6. On the way from the theatre to the Acropolis at Athens,

Calos is buried. This Calos was sister's son to Daedalus, and studied art under him: Daedalus murdered him and fled to Crete, but afterwards took refuge with Cocalus in Sicily. 7. The sanctuary of Aesculapius is worth seeing for its images of the god and his children, and also for its paintings. In it is a fountain beside which, they say, Halirrothius, son of Poseidon, violated Alcippe, daughter of Ares, and was therefore slain by Ares.

## XXII.

1. After the sanctuary of Aesculapius, proceeding by this road towards the Acropolis, we come to a temple of Themis. In front of it is a barrow erected in memory of Hippolytus.

3. The worship of Vulgar Aphrodite [Aphrodite Pandemos] and of Persuasion was instituted by Theseus when he gathered the Athenians from the townships into a single city. In my time the ancient images were gone, but the existing images were by no obscure artists. There is also a sanctuary of Earth, the Nursing-Mother, and of Green Demeter [Chloe]; the meaning of these surnames may be learnt by inquiring of the priests.

4. There is but one entrance to the Acropolis: it admits of no other, being everywhere precipitous and fortified with a strong wall. The portal (Propylaea) has a roof of white marble, and for the beauty and size of the blocks it has never yet been matched. Whether the statues of the horsemen represent the sons of Xenophon, or are merely decorative, I cannot say for certain. On the right of the portal is a temple of Wingless Victory. 5. From this point the sea is visible, and it was here, they say, that Aegeus cast himself down and perished. For the ship that bore the children to Crete used to put to sea with black sails; but when Theseus sailed to beard the bull called the son of Minos (*i.e.* the Minotaur), he told his father that he would use white sails if he came back victorious over the bull. However, after the loss of Ariadne he forgot to do so. Then Aegeus, when he saw the ship returning with black sails, thought that his son was dead; so he flung himself down and was killed. There is a shrine to him at Athens called the shrine of the hero Aegeus.

6. On the left of the portal is a chamber containing pictures. Among the pictures which time had not effaced were Diomedes and Ulysses, the one at Lemnos carrying off the bow of Philoctetes, the other carrying off the image of Athena from Ilium. Among the paintings here is also Orestes slaying Aegisthus, and Pylades slaying

Nauplius' sons, who came to the rescue of Aegisthus, and Polyxena about to be slaughtered near the grave of Achilles.

Among other paintings there is a picture of Alcibiades containing emblems of the victory won by his team at Nemea. Perseus is also depicted on his way back to Seriphos, carrying the head of Medusa to Polydectes. But I do not care to tell the story of Medusa in treating of Attica. 7. Passing over the picture of the boy carrying the water-pots, and the picture of the wrestler by Timænetus, there is a portrait of Musæus.

8. Just at the entrance to the Acropolis are figures of Hermes and the Graces, which are said to have been made by Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus. The Hermes is named Hermes of the Portal.

### XXIII.

1. Amongst the objects on which Hippias vented his fury was a woman named Leæna ("lioness"). 2. The story has never before been put on record, but is commonly believed at Athens. He tortured Leæna to death, knowing that she was Aristogiton's mistress, and supposing that she could not possibly be ignorant of the plot. As a recompense, when the tyranny of the Pisistratids was put down, the Athenians set up a bronze lioness in memory of the woman. Beside it is an image of Aphrodite, which they say was an offering of Callias and a work of Calamis. Near it is a bronze statue of Diitrephes pierced with arrows. 5. Near the statue of Diitrephes (for I do not wish to mention the obscurer statues) are images of gods—one of Health, who is said to be a daughter of Aesculapius, and one of Athena, who is also surnamed Health [Hygieia].

8. Among other things that I saw on the Acropolis at Athens were the bronze boy holding the sprinkler, and Perseus after he has done the deed on Medusa. The boy is a work of Lycius, son of Myron; the Perseus is a work of Myron. 9. There is also a sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis: the image is a work of Praxiteles. The goddess gets her surname from the township of Brauron; and at Brauron is the old wooden image which is, they say, the Tauric Artemis. 10. There is also set up a bronze figure of the so-called Wooden Horse. Every one who does not suppose that the Phrygians were the veriest ninnies, is aware that what Epeus made was an engine for breaking down the wall. But the story goes that the Wooden Horse had within it the bravest of the Greeks, and the bronze horse has been shaped accordingly. Menestheus and Teucer are peeping out of it,



and so are the sons of Theseus. 11. Among the statues that stand after the horse, the one of Epicharinus, who practised running in armour, is by Critias. Oenobius was a man who did a good deed to Thucydides, son of Olorus; for he carried a decree recalling Thucydides from banishment. But on his way home Thucydides was murdered, and his tomb is not far from the Melitian gate. 12. The histories of Hermolycus, the pancratiast, and of Phormio, the son of Asopichus, have been told by other writers, so I pass them by.

## XXIV.

1. Here Athena is represented striking Marsyas the Silenus, because he picked up the flutes when the goddess had meant that they should be thrown away. 2. Over against the works I have mentioned is the legendary fight of Theseus with the bull, which was called the bull of Minos, whether this bull was a man or, as the prevalent tradition has it, a beast; for even in our own time women have given birth to much more marvellous monsters than this. Here, too, is Phrixus, son of Athamas, represented as he appeared after being carried away by the ram to the land of the Colchians: he has sacrificed the ram to some god, apparently to him whom the Orchomenians call Laphystian; and having cut off the thighs according to the Greek custom, he is looking at them burning. Among the statues which stand next in order is one of Hercules strangling the serpents according to the story; and one of Athena rising from the head of Zeus. There is also a bull set up by the Council of the Areopagus for some reason or other: one might make many guesses on the subject if one chose to do so. 3. I observed before that the zeal of the Athenians in matters of religion exceeds that of all other peoples. Thus they were the first to give Athena the surname of the Worker [Ergane], and [to make] images of Hermes without limbs; . . . and in the temple with them is a Spirit of the Zealous [Σπουδαίων]. He who prefers the products of art to mere antiquities should observe the following:—There is a man wearing a helmet, a work of Cleoetas, who has inwrought the man's nails of silver. There is also an image of Earth praying Zeus to rain on her, either because the Athenians themselves needed rain, or because there was a drought all over Greece. Here also is a statue of Timotheus, son of Conon, and a statue of Conon himself. A group representing Procne and Itys, at the time when Procne has taken her resolution against the boy, was dedicated by Alcamenes; and Athena is represented exhibiting the olive plant, and Poseidon



exhibiting the wave. 4. There is also an image of Zeus made by Leochares, and another of Zeus surnamed Polieus ("urban").

5. All the figures in the gable over the entrance to the temple called the Parthenon relate to the birth of Athena. The back gable contains the strife of Poseidon with Athena for the possession of the land. The image itself is made of ivory and gold. Its helmet is surmounted in the middle by a figure of a sphinx (I will tell the story of the sphinx when I come to treat of Boeotia), and on either side of the helmet are griffins wrought in relief.

7. The image of Athena stands upright, clad in a garment that reaches to her feet: on her breast is the head of Medusa wrought in ivory. She holds a Victory about four cubits high, and in the other hand a spear. At her feet lies a shield, and near the spear is a serpent, which may be Erichthonios. On the pedestal of the image is wrought in relief the birth of Pandora. Hesiod and other poets have told how this Pandora was the first woman, and how before the birth of Pandora womankind as yet was not. The only statue I saw there was that of the Emperor Hadrian; and at the entrance there is a statue of Iphicrates, who did many marvellous deeds.

8. Over against the temple is a bronze Apollo: they say the image was made by Phidias. They call it Locust Apollo, because, when locusts blasted the land, the god said he would drive them out of the country.

## XXV.

1. On the Acropolis at Athens is a statue of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus himself, who fought the seafight at Mycale against the Medes. The statue of Pericles stands in a different part of the Acropolis; but near the statue of Xanthippus is one of Anacreon the Teian, the first poet, after Sappho the Lesbian, to write mostly love poems. The attitude of the statue is like that of a man singing in his cups. The figures of women near it were made by Dinomenes: they represent Io, daughter of Inachus, and Callisto, daughter of Lycaon. 2. At the south wall are figures about two cubits high, dedicated by Attalus. They represent the legendary war of the giants who once dwelt about Thrace and the isthmus of Pallene, the fight of the Athenians with the Amazons, the battle with the Medes at Marathon, and the destruction of the Gauls in Mysia. There is a statue also of Olympiodorus, who earned fame both by the greatness and the opportuneness of his exploits, for he infused courage into men whom a series of disasters had plunged in despair.

## XXVI.

4. Near the statue of Olympiodorus stands a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Leucophryenian. It was dedicated by the sons of Themistocles; for the Magnesians, whom the King gave to Themistocles to govern, hold Leucophryenian Artemis in honour. 5. But I must proceed, for I have to describe the whole of Greece. Endoeus was an Athenian by birth and a pupil of Daedalus. When Daedalus fled on account of the murder of Calos, Endoeus followed him to Crete. There is a seated image of Athena by Endoeus: the inscription states that it was dedicated by Callias and made by Endoeus.

6. There is also a building called the Erechtheum. Before the entrance is an altar of Supreme Zeus, where they sacrifice no living thing; but they lay cakes on it, and having done so they are forbidden by custom to make use of wine. Inside of the building are altars: one of Poseidon, on which they sacrifice also to Erechtheus in obedience to an oracle; one of the hero Butes; and one of Hephaestus. On the walls are paintings of the family of the Butads. Within, for the building is double, there is sea-water in a well. This is not very surprising, for the same thing may be seen in inland places, as at Aphrodisias in Caria. But what is remarkable about this well is that, when the south wind has been blowing, the well gives forth a sound of waves; and there is a shape of a trident in the rock. These things are said to have been the evidence produced by Poseidon in support of his claim to the country.

7. The rest of the city and the whole land are equally sacred to Athena; for although the worship of other gods is established in the townships, the inhabitants none the less hold Athena in honour. But the object which was universally deemed the holy of holies many years before the union of the townships, is an image of Athena in what is now called the Acropolis, but what was then called the city. The legend is that the image fell from heaven, but whether this is so or not I will not inquire. Callimachus made a golden lamp for the goddess. They fill the lamp with oil, and wait till the same day next year, and the oil suffices for the lamp during all the intervening time, though it is burning day and night. The wick is made of Carpasian flax, which is the only kind of flax that does not take fire. A bronze palm-tree placed over the lamp and reaching to the roof draws off the smoke.

## XXVII.

1. In the temple of the Polias is a wooden Hermes, said to be an offering of Cecrops, but hidden under myrtle boughs. Amongst the ancient offerings which are worthy of mention is a folding-chair, made by Daedalus, and spoils taken from the Medes, including the corslet of Masistius, who commanded the cavalry at Plataea, and a sword said to be that of Mardonius. 2. About the olive they have nothing to say except that it was produced by the goddess as evidence in the dispute about the country. They say, too, that the olive was burned down when the Medes fired Athens, but that after being burned down it sprouted the same day to a height of two cubits. 3. Contiguous to the temple of Athena is a temple of Pandrosos, who alone of the sisters was blameless in regard to the trust committed to them. 4. What surprised me very much, but is not generally known, I will describe as it takes place. Two maidens dwell not far from the temple of the Polias: the Athenians call them Arrephoroi. These are lodged for a time with the goddess; but when the festival comes around they perform the following ceremony by night. They put on their heads the things which the priestess of Athena gives them to carry, but what it is she gives is known neither to her who gives nor to them who carry. Now there is in the city an enclosure not far from the sanctuary of Aphrodite called Aphrodite in the Gardens, and there is a natural underground descent through it. Down this way the maidens go. Below they leave their burdens, and getting something else, which is wrapt up, they bring it back. These maidens are then discharged, and others are brought to the Acropolis in their stead.

5. Near the temple of Athena is a well-wrought figure of an old woman, just about a cubit high, purporting to be the handmaid Lysimache. There are also large bronze figures of men confronting each other for a fight: they call one of them Erechtheus and the other Eumolpus. 6. On the pedestal there is a statue of . . . who was a soothsayer to Tolmides, and a statue of Tolmides himself. 7. There are ancient images of Athena. No part of them has been melted off, though they are somewhat blackened and brittle; for the flames reached them at the time when the Athenians embarked on their ships, and the city, abandoned by its fighting men, was captured by the king. There is also the hunting of a boar, but whether it is the Calydonian boar I do not know for certain. There is also Cycnus fighting with Hercules.



## XXVIII.

1. Why they set up a bronze statue of Cylon, though he compassed the tyranny, I cannot say for certain. I surmise that it was because he was an extremely handsome man, and gained some reputation by winning a victory in the double race at Olympia. Moreover he had the honor to marry a daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara.

2. Besides the things I have enumerated, there are two tithe-offerings from spoils taken by the Athenians in war. One is a bronze image of Athena made from the spoils of the Medes who landed at Marathon. It is a work of Phidias. The battle of the Lapiths with the Centaurs on her shield, and all the other figures in relief, are said to have been wrought by Mys, but designed, like all the other works of Mys, by Parrhasius, son of Evenor. The head of the spear and the crest of the helmet of this Athena are visible to mariners sailing from Sunium to Athens. There is also a bronze chariot made out of a tithe of spoils taken from the Boeotians and the Chalcidians of Euboea. There are two other offerings, a statue of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, and an image of Athena, surnamed Lemnian, after the people of Lemnos who dedicated it. This image of Athena is the best worth seeing of the works of Phidias.

3. The whole of the wall which runs round the Acropolis, except the part built by Cimon, son of Miltiades, is said to have been erected by the Pelasgians who once dwelt at the foot of the Acropolis.

4. Descending not as far as the lower city, but below the portal, you come to a spring of water, and near it a sanctuary of Apollo in a cave. They think it was here that Apollo had intercourse with Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus. . . . Philippides was sent to Lacedaemon to tell that the Medes had landed, but came back reporting that the Lacedaemonians had deferred their march, for it was their custom not to march out to war before the moon was full. But Philippides said that Pan met him about Mount Parthenius, and told him that he wished the Athenians well and would come to Marathon to fight for them. So the god Pan has been honored for this message.



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 Dr. Kawerau has recently made a new plan which has not yet been published.  
 MICHAELIS, A. *Arx Athenarum, Atlas.* Bonn, 1901.  
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## APPENDIX II

### THE PELARGICON IN THE AGE OF PERICLES

[The substance of the Article by Professor John Williams White published in the  
*Ephemeris Archaeologica*, Athens, 1894]

THE traditional view that the Acropolis at Athens ceased to be a fortress as early as the time when Themistocles built the wall around the city, or at least when Pericles came into control has been denied by Professor Dörpfeld, who maintains that the great walls of the Pelargicon continued to stand as late as the time of Herodes Atticus (cf. *A.M.* xiv. 1889, p. 65 f.). But that the Pelargicon was destroyed after the expulsion of Hippias may be inferred from the account of the siege of the Pisistratids on the Acropolis and of the second siege by Xerxes in 480 B.C. (cf. *Hdt.* v. 72, viii. 51-53; *Arist. 'Athn.* Πολ. 20). The complete destruction of the city and its defenses after the second capture is attested by Herodotus (ix. 13), Thucydides (i. 89), and by Andocides (*Περὶ τῶν Μυστ.* 108). That the Pelargicon shared in this destruction is the opinion of Wachsmuth (*Neue Beiträge, Berichte d. K. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1887, p. 399), Lolling (*Top. von Athen, von Müller's Handbuch*, iii. 1889, p. 339), v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Aus Kydathen*, p. 196), Judeich (*Top. von Athen, von Müller's Handbuch*, iii. 2, p. 113), and others. The fact that in the account which Greek writers give of the rebuilding of the fortifications of Athens after 480 B.C. no mention is made of the Pelargicon creates a strong presumption that this was no longer a part of the system of defense. Especially noteworthy is the fact that Thucydides (i. 89-93, ii. 13) makes no mention of the Acropolis as a fortress in the account which he gives of the defenses of the city at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, all the more so since the historian (i. 126) plainly indicates that the Acropolis was a citadel at the time of the conspiracy of Cylon, which occurred between 636

and 624 B.C. From the statements of Thucydides in his second book it is clear that in his own day the Acropolis was not a fortress but a sanctuary and a treasury, which no one was permitted to inhabit even in the stress of the Peloponnesian war, when the rural population of Attica sought refuge within the walls of the city (ii. 17, 1). To the testimony of Thucydides may be added that of inscriptions from the fifth century (see, e.g. *C.I.A.* i. 32, 117-140, 141-160, 161-175), which refer to the Acropolis solely as the place of temples and shrines, the repository of votive offerings and of the treasury of the state.

Strong presumptive evidence that the Pelargicon was no longer a bulwark of defense in the age of Pericles is furnished by two inscriptions and a passage in Thucydides. The first of these inscriptions (*C.I.A.* iv. 26 a, p. 140) is a decree, passed about 440 B.C., providing that a guard-house be erected at the entrance to the Acropolis, in which three guards are to be stationed who are to prevent suspicious persons (*δραπέται καὶ λωποδύται*) from entering the Acropolis. Now if the Pelargicon as conceived by Dörpfeld was still in existence, it is difficult to see what meaning this decree could have. There would have been no occasion to build a watch-house at the *entrance* to the Acropolis, for the guards would have been posted at the gate which gave admission through the great outer wall of the Pelargicon as originally built (cf. Foucart, *Bull. Corr. HELL.* 1890, xiv. p. 177; Wernicke, *Die Polizeiwache auf der Burg v. Athen*, *Hermes*, 1891, xxvi. p. 51). The decree indicates that the Pelargicon was not at this time an enclosed place.

The second inscription (*C.I.A.* iv. 27 b, 54 ff.) is a decree regulating the offerings to be made to the Eleusinian goddesses, and was passed sometime between 446 B.C. and the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. That part of the decree that concerns this discussion was a "rider" and enacted that the Archon Basileus should define the sanctuaries in the Pelargicon, that henceforth no altar should be set up in it without the authority of the senate and people, that no stone nor earth should be taken from it for building-material, and that a heavy fine should be imposed upon all who transgressed this law. The natural inference is that the Pelargicon was not at this time a place that could be securely closed. The severe penalty named in the decree is difficult to explain if the Pelargicon could at this time be securely closed, since trespassers would simply have been stopped at the one gate that gave entrance to this defense if it still existed, or rather trespass would then have been impossible.



To this may be added a reference in Julius Pollux (viii. 101) defining the duties of those who had the place in charge, which was to prevent any one from reaping within the Pelargicon or from digging it up. A passage in Thucydides (ii. 17) confirms the view that the wall of the Pelargicon at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war was not intact. From that passage it appears that the people who came into the city from the country were excluded from every *ιερόν* and *ἡρώον* that was *βεβαίως κληστόν*. Now the Acropolis and the Eleusinium were *ιερά* that were securely closed, but the Pelargicon, although it was *ιερόν* and rested (according to the oracle quoted—*τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἀμεινον*) under a special prohibition against occupation, was occupied. The only inference that can be drawn from this contrast between the former sanctuaries and the latter is that the latter was not *βεβαίως κληστόν*.

It remains to enquire whether the wall that enclosed the summit of the Acropolis and that constituted originally a part of the Pelargicon continued to exist as a defense in the time of Pericles. The complete excavation of the Acropolis has given final answer to this question. The present wall, built after the Persian wars, is mainly a retaining wall, intended to serve as a means of enlarging the surfaces of the Acropolis. In particular, a great space was filled in between its southern part and the native rock of the Acropolis. With the single exception noted below, the early Pelasgic walls on and around the Acropolis were entirely covered by the new wall and the filling of earth and debris, or were removed. The line of this old Pelasgic wall has partly been laid bare, lying within that of the younger wall, especially in the south and southeast sides of the Acropolis. The fifth century wall, of course, closed the Acropolis, which was filled with treasures, from intrusion. The Spartan garrison that was posted there in the time of the Thirty occupied it for the purpose of over-awing the town (Xenoph. *Hellen.* ii. 3, 13, 14; Lysias 12, 94; Arist. *Ἀθην. Πολ.* 37), not to protect themselves from attack. It is significant that these 700 soldiers occupied the Acropolis as quarters, and it is difficult to explain why they were not stationed in the Pelargicon if it had been in existence at this time. The only piece of the early Pelasgic wall that remains standing on the summit of the Acropolis is the well-known wall that joins the southeast corner of the south wing of the Propylaea and that is described above, p. 23. Dörpfeld claims that Mnesicles cut the corner of the Propylaea, a cut which extends apparently through all the stones that are now *in situ* to a height of more than 10 metres, in order

to join this corner closely with this Pelasgic wall which stands at an angle of about 45 degrees to the east and south walls of the wing (cf. *A.M.* 1885, x. p. 139). The argument of Dörpfeld is that when the Propylaea was built this Pelasgian wall was still standing as a part of the old Pelargicon. But granting that Mnesicles made this cut because he found this wall in his way, it does not follow that the Pelargicon was still in existence. It may well have been a part of the old Pelasgic wall utilized and rebuilt by the priesthood of Artemis Brauronia to prevent encroachment upon their sanctuary (cf. *A.M.* x. p. 54). From the fact that this corner was built over in the Middle Ages and from the irregular character of the masonry, a legitimate doubt has been expressed whether the cut was after all made by Mnesicles. The cut has an irregular surface above the present remains of the Pelasgian wall, and in two instances the courses of stone in the wing advance beyond the courses below them, so that the cut measured on the surface of the wall, is 0.4 metre deeper at the bottom than at the top (see *A.M.* x. Plate V. Fig. 3).

The proofs drawn from inscriptions and literary sources that have been presented in favor of the existence of the Pelargicon as a fortress in the time of Pericles and thereafter are now to be examined. First are two passages from Aristophanes, *sc. Lysistrata*, 480-483, and *Aves*, 826-836. In the former passage it is argued that ἡ κραναά and ἀκρόπολις are contrasted, and that ἡ κραναά means the Pelargicon in opposition to the traditional interpretation which takes it to mean the Acropolis. But this term is never applied in the literature to artificial structures such as the walls, terraces and gates of the Pelargicon, but only to natural objects that are rugged, precipitous and rocky, like the Acropolis. Aristophanes applies the term to Athens (*Aves*, 123) and once to the Acropolis itself (*Acharn.* 75). In the passage under consideration κραναά is probably used as an adjective and is to be taken as an attribute of ἀκρόπολις as it is in the *Acharnians*, 75, ὦ κραναὰ πόλις. In the passage from the *Birds* (826-836) it is said that to Athena is assigned the Acropolis and to the Cock the Pelargicon, both together constituting the πόλις. But first, whatever meaning πόλις may have elsewhere, in the present passage it certainly means the city of the birds as a whole, which was a big place, and secondly the proposal to make Athena the πολιοῦχος of the new city is rejected in vv. 829-831, and the question that follows τίς δαὶ καθέξει τῆς πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν is the same question that has already been asked and might have

been phrased τίς δαὶ καθέξει τὴν πόλιν? The reason why Aristophanes phrases his question in the manner he has is apparent: the term Πελαργικόν still survived in popular speech as designating the ancient fortifications (cf. Curtius, *Die Probleme der Athenischen Stadtgeschichte, Gesammte Abhand.* 1894, i. p. 417), and Aristophanes seizes the opportunity to make a play on words, τὸ Πελαργικόν being taken in the sense of τὸ τῶν Πελαργικῶν ὄχυρῶμα. This play on words is confirmed by verse 868, ὦ Σουνιέρακε χαῖρ' ἀναξ πελαργικέ.

The following passage from Lucian (*Halieus*, 41, 42 609) is also adduced to prove the existence of the Pelargicon as a fortress as late as the time of Herodes Atticus: οὐδὲν τόδε χαλεπόν. ἄκουε, σίγα! ὅσοι φιλόσοφοι εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ ὅσοι προσήκειν αὐτοῖς οἶονται τοῦ ὀνόματος ἦκειν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν ἐπὶ τὴν διανομήν . . . βαβαί, ὡς πλήρης μὲν ἡ ἄνοδος ὠθιζομένων, ἐπεὶ τὰς δύο μνᾶς ἤκουσαν μόνον. παρὰ δὲ τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἄλλοι καὶ κατὰ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἕτεροι καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἀρειὸν Πάγον ἔτι πλείους, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Τάλω τάφον, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἀνακείον προσθήμενοι κλίμακας ἀνέρπουσι βομβηδὸν νῆ Δία καὶ βοτρυδὸν ἐσμῶς δίκην, ἵνα καὶ καθ' Ὀμηρον εἴπω, ἀλλὰ κἀκείθεν εὖ μάλα πολλοὶ κἀντεῦθεν μύριοι, ὅσσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθη γίνεται ὥρη.

The interpretation of this passage by Dörpfeld is as follows: the ascent (ἄνοδος) is so crowded with philosophers that no more can enter the Acropolis by it. Of the rest of the claimants for the two minas some climb up the Acropolis to the right of the ἄνοδος by the Pelargicon, *i.e.* from within it, others to the right of these by the Asclepieum, still others by the Areopagus, to the left of the ἄνοδος, some others at the extreme right by the grave of Talos, beyond the Asclepieum, and finally others to the extreme left by the Anaceum. It is argued that there is a symmetrical arrangement of the pairs of localities to the right and left of those who first climb over the Acropolis wall, and that this implies the existence of the outer wall of the Pelargicon which guarded the entrance. But this implication is not inevitable even if the interpretation is granted. The supposed situation would be satisfied by the remains of the walls of the Pelargicon lying on the southwest slope of the Acropolis. This interpretation, however, ignores Lucian's choice of prepositions. Furthermore, if Lucian meant what is attributed to him we should find written: ἐντὸς or ἐκ τοῦ Πελαργικοῦ. In the third place, παρὰ τὸν Ἀρειὸν Πάγον ἀνέρπουσι creates a difficult situation. The Areopagus is 120 metres distant from the nearest



point of the wall of the Acropolis measured on an air line. The true situation appears to be this: The *ἄνοδος* is full, but the crowd is in motion. Behind these, others are pressing on. They come from various quarters: from the southern part of the city *παρὰ* (along by) the Pelargicon, *i.e.* the place to which this name remained attached after it was abandoned as a fortress; from the *northern* part *παρὰ* the Areopagus. Others still come from the east *κατὰ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον*, and behind these others from a point still farther east *κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Τάλω τάφον*. These are all making their way to the *ἄνοδος*. But some others whose impatience suggests a quicker way get ladders and climb up by the Anaceum (cf. Judeich, *Jahrb. f. class. Phil.* 1890, p. 750).

The only statement cited by those who are asked for proof that the Pelargicon was restored as a fortress after its destruction by the Persians is from the account in Thucydides (i. 89), in which the historian says *Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ κοινὸν . . . τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τεῖχη*.

It is claimed that in these words Thucydides refers to the walls of the Pelargicon and not to a pre-Themistoclean city wall. But the historian after describing in the following chapters the wall actually built and known later as the Themistoclean wall, adds *μείζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος πανταχῇ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως*. This cannot refer to the Pelargicon, and taken in connection with the former account must be understood to mean the peribolos of the city wall. The statement of Thucydides, therefore, that the Athenians made ready to rebuild their walls, furnishes no proof of the restoration of the Pelargicon, but contains an implication to the contrary when viewed in the light of his subsequent account of the work.

The supposed use of the word *πόλις* as including both Acropolis and Pelargicon furnishes Dörpfeld another argument for the continued existence of the old fortification. A passage is cited from Thucydides (ii. 15) in support of this view. Dörpfeld interprets the expression *πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως* as meaning, not that part of the old city that lay below the southern slope of the Acropolis, but that part of the city of his own time which included the Acropolis and a piece of the old city lying on its southwestern slope; *i.e.* *τοῦτο τὸ μέρος* was, he thinks, the Pelargicon with the Asclepieum. Now if this opinion is correct, it seems strange that so careful a writer as Thucydides, instead of writing vaguely *τὸ ἐπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον*, did not say simply *τὸ Πελαργικόν*. If the old Pelargicon is really meant by the historian it seems incredible that he did not



make this point more definite, since then his statement *καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτη κατοίκησιν ἢ ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον τετραμμένον καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλιν* would have gained additional force. The phraseology in the passage under discussion (*καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι*) shows that Thucydides thought it remarkable that *πόλιν* was still used in his day for *ἀκρόπολιν*.

Those who would make *πόλιν* to include also the Pelargicon cite an inscription of a later time (*C.I.A.* iii 5) in which the Eleusinium is referred to as being *ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει*, interpreting this expression as meaning the hollow at the southwest foot of the Acropolis in which they place this sanctuary. Even granting that this is the true site of the Eleusinium—an opinion which some scholars do not hold—it does not follow that *πόλιν* in this inscription must have the meaning attributed to it by Dörpfeld and his followers rather than simply that of *ἀκρόπολιν*. The restricted use of *πόλιν* = *ἀκρόπολιν* is verified by many inscriptions in which this term is officially used in connection with temples which are known to have been on the Acropolis. In the first volume of the *C.I.A.* alone twenty inscriptions occur in which, according to Kirchhoff, the word *πόλιν* has this restricted meaning.

But the chief argument presented in support of the view that the Pelargicon was a strong defense at the close of the fifth century B.C. is drawn from the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes. It is claimed that the scene of this play is the great gate in the outer wall of the Pelargicon. The women have seized this stronghold, closed the outer gate, and cannot be dislodged except by fire. The Pelargicon must therefore have been in existence in 411 B.C. But this argument is invalidated if it can be shown that the scene of the play is the central door of the Propylaea. This fact is established by the following considerations:

(1) It appears from the play that the place seized by the women is the Acropolis (vv. 176, 179, 241, 245, 263, 482, etc.).

(2) The poet himself positively states that the scene of the play is the Propylaea in verses 258-265. The meaning of the term *προπύλαια* in the passage cited is well established.

(3) That the outer gate of the Pelargicon could not have been the scene of the play appears from *Λυσ.* 307-311, and 1216. In these verses the use of the term *θύρα* precludes the possibility of any reference to the Pelargicon; *θύρα* is used only of the door of a house or similar structure, never of a gate in a wall of fortification.

(4) The supposition that the outer gate of the Pelargicon is the

scene of the play creates an impossible situation (cf. *Lysistrata*, 910-913):

Μυρ.                    ποῦ γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ τάλαν  
                          δράσσει τοῦθ';    Κιν. ὅπου; τὸ τοῦ Πάνος καλόν.  
 Μυρ. καὶ πῶς ἔθ' ἀγνὴ δῆτ' ἂν ἔλθοιμ' ἐς πόλιν;  
 Κιν. κάλλιστα δῆπου λουσαμένη τῇ Κλειψύδρᾳ.

In the case supposed Cinesias and Myrrhena are outside the Pelargicon. But the cave of Pan is *within* this fortification and therefore not accessible to them. The Clepsydra also must have been within the fortification, and therefore within the πόλις as Dörpfeld has defined it, and so inaccessible to Myrrhena for performing the rites of purification. The situation then in the *Lysistrata* requires that the scene be laid where the action has more freedom than would be possible in the outer gate of the Pelargicon which would have served as an obstruction.

To this discussion some general considerations may be added. First, there was no need of making the Acropolis a fortress in the fifth century. The great wall built about the city by Themistocles became its proper defense (see Wachsmuth, *Neue Beiträge zur Topog. von Athen, Berichte d. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1887, p. 399). Secondly, the Acropolis would have been wholly inadequate to furnish protection, with an enemy within the Themistoclean wall, to the population of Athens which is estimated to have been 200,000 at this time. Again, the complete rehabilitation of the Acropolis as a citadel after the expulsion of the Pisistratids would have been repugnant to the democracy established by the constitution of Clisthenes. That after the Macedonian conquest, when Athens again fell under the rule of tyrants, the Acropolis should have been transformed into a citadel, is not surprising when one sees the natural advantages of the Acropolis as a stronghold. But Aristion's occupation of the Acropolis in the time of Sulla is no more proof of the existence of the Pelargicon in the age of Pericles than are the defenses erected in the Middle Ages.

Finally, that the huge and uncouth walls of the Pelargicon should have been kept standing throughout the Periclean age, barring from view the glorious and beautiful temples and gateway reared on the summit of the Acropolis, appears incredible.

## APPENDIX III

### THE PROBLEM OF THE OLD ATHENA TEMPLE OR THE HECATOMPEDON

THE views on the history of the old temple discovered by Professor Dörpfeld and its relations to the other temples on the Acropolis are widely divergent. The view of Professor Dörpfeld has been stated above (pp. 51-53).

Of the other views the most noteworthy are the following:

1. J. G. Frazer, "The Pre-Persian Temple on the Acropolis," Appendix, vol. ii. *Pausanias's Description of Greece*.

Frazer holds that the oldest temple on the Acropolis was the original Erechtheum, that this was a joint temple of Erechtheus and Athena, that the temple discovered by Dörpfeld was never called the old temple of Athena or of Athena Polias, that it was not restored after the Persian destruction, that the Parthenon was designed to be the successor of the Hecatompedon, and that the term *opisthodomos* of the inscriptions and writers refers to the western portico of the Parthenon and later may have included the western chamber of this temple.

2. A. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, Appendix, "The Temples of Athena on the Akropolis."

Furtwängler believes that the temple discovered by Dörpfeld was the double shrine of Erechtheus and Athena, and that its interior arrangement is well fitted to the double worship of goddess and hero. He holds further that the Parthenon was at first intended to replace the Hecatompedon and that the worship of Erechtheus as well as that of Athena was to be transferred to it, but that this plan was subsequently modified by the building of the Erechtheum. The Parthenon became "the place of festivals in which the goddess herself was manifested in her image." The Parthenon is a lasting memorial of what Pericles desired but did not accomplish, which

was to make it the centre of the worship of Athena. This function was fulfilled by the Erechtheum. It was this temple, the work of the conservative party desirous of restoring the old temple, that became the shrine of the venerated image of Athena Polias. And when this image had been removed to it this new temple received the name of "the old temple of Athena Polias" as an inheritance from the old Hecatompedon which was then torn down. Furtwängler, in an article published in the *Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Bayr. Akad. der Wiss.* 1904, comments upon Dörpfeld's recent theory of the original plan of the Erechtheum (*A.M.* 1904, p. 101) according to which the Erechtheum was designed to be a symmetrical building (see p. 212), and holds that if this theory be accepted this structure must be regarded as a *double temple*, having a cella at the west end corresponding to the east cella. This double temple can be no other than that dedicated to the common worship of Athena and of Poseidon-Erechtheus. This view of the original plan of the Erechtheum, in the opinion of Furtwängler, goes to confirm the view of Michaelis (*Jahrb. d. k. d. Arch. Inst.* 1902, p. 1) that the old temple discovered by Dörpfeld, the Hekatompedon, is a structure of the sixth century and is to be distinguished from the ἀρχαῖος νεώς, which he holds to be the ancient predecessor of the Erechtheum as a double sanctuary of Athena and Poseidon-Erechtheus.

3. F. C. Penrose, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1891, p. 275, and 1892, p. 32, regards Dörpfeld's old temple as the sanctuary of Cecrops, the Cecropium, and makes it an Ionic Octastyle temple with sixteen columns on the flanks. To this conclusion he is led by the existence of certain architectural fragments of the Ionic style. The architectural fragments found in the north wall of the Acropolis Penrose thinks belonged to a temple which preceded the Parthenon on the same site, and not to the archaic temple discovered by Dörpfeld. For a discussion of Dr. Penrose's view, see Dörpfeld, *A.M.* xvii. p. 158; cf. also Fowler, *A.J.A.* viii. (1893) p. 16.

4. H. G. Lolling, *Topogr. Müller's Handb.* iii. p. 347.

Lolling believes that the old temple was the house of Erechtheus and the temple of Athena, that it was provisionally restored after the Persian war, but that it was succeeded by the Erechtheum, in the east cella of which was the shrine of Athena Polias. In the *Δελτίον*, 1890, p. 92, Lolling published a newly found inscription belonging to the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. which is of prime importance for the history of the old temple. This inscription (*C.I.A.* iv. 1, p. 138, 18, 10) is discussed by Dörpfeld, *A.M.* xv. p. 420,



and by Michaelis, *Jahrb. d. k. d. Arch. Inst.* 1902; cf. also G. Körte, *Rhein. Mus.* liii. p. 247. The various parts of the temple are herein designated by the terms *προνήμιον*, *νεώς*, *οἶκημα ταμιείου*, *τὰ οἶκήματα*, while the whole is called *τὸ ἑκατόμπεδον*. All these terms undoubtedly fit the structure discovered by Dörpfeld and are regarded by him as a strong support for his theory. Lolling's interpretation, however, departs from that of Dörpfeld in holding that the term *ἑκατόμπεδος νεώς* (as well as *ἑκατόμπεδον*) always refers to the old temple and never to the cella of the Parthenon which he calls "parthenon," applying to the western chamber the term *οπισθόδομος*. In passing it may be remarked that Dörpfeld has conclusively shown (*A.M.* xv. p. 427) that *ἑκατόμπεδος νεώς* designates the cella of the Parthenon (cf. Fowler's discussion of Lolling's view, *A.J.A.* viii. p. 1). Lolling does not subscribe to the view of Dörpfeld in regard to the continuance of the old temple, but thinks it had disappeared in the time of Plutarch or possibly even earlier.

5. A. Milchhöfer, *Über die alten Burgheilighümer in Athen*, Program. Kiel, 1899, holds that there was an older Erechtheum on the site of the later, and this was called *ὁ ἀρχαῖος* (*ὁ παλαιός*) *νεώς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς* and that this appellation was never applied to Dörpfeld's old temple. Furthermore, that the opisthodomos was a separate building situated at or near the east end of the Acropolis, a *θησαυρός*, such as existed at Epidaurus, Delphi, Olympia, etc. In denying that this term designates a part of the Parthenon, he agrees with Professor John Williams White ("The Opisthodomos on the Acropolis at Athens," *Harvard Studies*, vi.), who differs from him, however, in contending that the name designates the original western half of the Hecatompedon which was left standing as a treasury after the rest of the building had been torn down.

6. G. Körte, *Rhein. Museum*, liii. (1898), p. 239, has proposed an entirely new solution. He agrees with Furtwängler in believing that the old temple was a double shrine in whose east cella Athena was worshipped and in whose western half Erechtheus was honored, together with Poseidon, Hephaestus, Butes and Cecrops. The successor of this temple was the Erechtheum. The name ancient temple of Athena, or Polias, was transferred from the old temple to its successor. But the term Hecatompedon was not used of the old temple, but of an enclosure or peribolos that lay south of the old temple, was sacred to Athena and contained *οἶκήματα* (*C.I.A.* iv. 1, p. 137, *τὰ οἶκήματα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἑκατομπέδῳ*), i.e. chambers or buildings, in which treasures were lodged. That there was really at one time

such a peribolos in which treasures were stored he believes is proved by an inscription that dates from near the close of the Persian war (*C.I.A.* iv. 1, c, p. 3, 27-29). A portion of the moneys of the Eleusinian divinities is to be administered ἐν περιβόλο [ι τοῦ νότοθ]εν τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναία[ς ἀρχαίῳ ν[ε]ρὸ ἐμπόλει. Dörpfeld prefers to read ὀπισθεν instead of νότοθεν. (See also White, "The Opisthodomos.") The "old temple" according to this view had no opisthodomos, and this term is not found in the inscriptions until after the completion of the Parthenon. This term therefore can only refer to the western chamber of the Parthenon and its portico. Wholly new is the application of the term Hecatompædon to an enclosure, and also the inference that this term came to be transferred to the hundred-foot cella of the new Parthenon from the sacred enclosure within which it was built.

7. Under the title ἀρχαῖος νεώς A. Michaelis (*Jahrb. d. k. d. Arch. Inst.* 1902, p. 1) discusses the relation of the Parthenon and the Erechtheum with the old Athena temple found by Dörpfeld.

From the evidence afforded by the poros pediment sculptures, Michaelis believes that the old Athena temple may be dated about 560. But before this time there must have been a temple to Athena on the Acropolis. This temple is the double sanctuary of Athena and Erechtheus (referred to by Hdt. viii 55. and in Hom. *Il.* ii. 549). This temple is called ὁ νεώς in the Hecatompædon inscription (*C.I.A.* iv. 1, p. 137; above referred to as published first by Lolling) in distinction from the ἐκατόμπεδον, and is definitely located by the sacred tokens; it contained the idol of olive wood, and into its cella Cleomenes, the Spartan king, desired to enter (Hdt. v. 72). On the other hand, the reference in Herodotus v. 77 to the fetters of the Chalcidians and to the μεγάρων πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένον points to the old Athena temple, *i.e.* the Hecatompædon.

Since in most points I agree with the views of Michaelis I shall, under the various arguments given below, have occasion frequently to set forth at more length the opinions and facts presented by him in the publication referred to above.

8. The view of E. Petersen (*A.M.* xii. (1887), p. 62) is quite similar to that of Michaelis. Petersen, however, emphasizes the manifest relation between the Hecatompædon and the Parthenon, and believes that the opisthodomos of the Parthenon, *i.e.* the western chamber and its portico, is the later successor of the rear chambers of the Hecatompædon which was taken down at the time of the building of the Erechtheum.

9. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, Sec. 19, p. 237, rejects the

view that there was an older Erechtheum on the site of the present temple, holds that Dörpfeld's temple, the Hecatompodon, is the only temple recognized in the inscriptions and literature prior to the older Parthenon, that it was a double temple, that it bore the name ἀρχαῖος νεώς but not of Athena Polias, that the former name was transferred (about 400 B.C.) to the Erechtheum, that the Parthenon was designed to be the successor of the Hecatompodon, but that in reality its function was completely filled by the Erechtheum, which inherited the name ἀρχαῖος νεώς, and that the fire of 406 put an end to its existence. The opisthodomos Judeich believes to have been a separate building. Herein he agrees with Milchhöfer (*Philol.* liii. 1894, p. 352, and *Progr.* Kiel, 1899, p. 255), but differs from him in locating this building immediately west of the Parthenon, on the spot assigned by Dörpfeld as the probable site of the Chalkotheke.

Among these divergent views it is difficult to choose, and the question is one of probability or of preponderating evidence. It is not possible to discuss each of the above opinions in full without exceeding the limits of this Appendix. My aim in presenting them has been to indicate the difficulty involved in the acceptance of any view and to suggest to the reader the wisdom of being open-minded in the study of this question, and of seeking for more light if any is to be had.

The view I have adopted has been indicated in the foregoing pages of this book. It is to be justified, so far as it can be, by the considerations that follow in the course of this discussion, in which, as a matter of convenience, I follow the order adopted by Frazer in the Appendix to vol. II. of his *Pausanias*, in which he presents his arguments against the view of Dörpfeld.

#### (I) PROBABILITY.

That the old temple (as we shall call it for the sake of convenience) should have been left standing after the completion of the Erechtheum (about 407 B.C.) seems most improbable, since in that case a space of less than two metres wide would remain between the cella of the old temple and the beautiful Caryatid portico, which would have been hidden behind the "clumsy old ark." The argument for the continued existence of the old temple after the building of the new Erechtheum that is drawn from the coexistence of the two temples at Rhamnus (cf. Cooley, *Amer. Journ. Arch.* iii. 1899, p. 394) and the preservation of the temple of Dionysus Eleutherius, whose foundations cut into a corner of the stoa behind the stage-building,



amounts only to this: because in the case of these old structures religious conservatism and the influence of the priesthood were strong enough to prevent their being torn down, therefore the same influence preserved the old temple of Athena, although it stood in such close proximity to the new Erechtheum as to hide its southern portico, and in spite of the fact that, as Dörpfeld himself admits, its removal must have been confidently expected when the builders of the Erechtheum began to erect this temple.

Again, the building inscription of the Erechtheum apparently makes no reference to the existence of the old temple. It refers to the various parts of the Erechtheum as contiguous to or turned towards certain objects; e.g. *C.I.A.* i. 322, ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου τοῦ πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου. The portico of the κόραι is spoken of as ἡ πρόστασις ἡ πρὸς τῷ Κεκροπίῳ (*C.I.A.* i. 322), and the south wall as ὁ τοίχος ὁ πρὸς νότον. It is certainly strange that if the old temple had been standing, no designation of any part of the Erechtheum in relation to it should be found. In this same building inscription occurs παραστάς (col. i, l. 73), which apparently had a length of 12 feet. The meaning of this term here is not certain. Dörpfeld thinks (*A.M.* xii. p. 197) it may signify the lower part of the marble partition wall of *C* and *D*, which may have been a row of pillars (Pfeilerstellung). But in the inventory of the ἀρχαῖος νεώς (*C.I.A.* ii. 733 and 735) several objects are mentioned as suspended from or fastened to παραστάδες and a right and left παραστάς is named in *C.I.A.* ii. 708. Here the word must mean door-post. From this statement of the inventory Dörpfeld argues that the two parastades must have been of wood, since objects were attached to them, and further, that since wooden door-posts are found in Doric buildings, but not in Ionic, the ἀρχαῖος νεώς of the inscription can only mean the old Doric temple and not the Ionic Erechtheum. To this point answer is made by Michaelis (*l.c.* p. 23) by showing that in inscriptions pertaining to the temple of Brauronian Artemis (*Arch. Athen.* (23) 42) several objects are spoken of as fastened πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ and πρὸς τῇ παραστάδι, from which Michaelis infers that objects might be attached to marble walls and posts.

Again, the fact that Pausanias makes no mention of the old temple when (x. 35, 2) he recounts the sanctuaries which showed marks of destruction or injury at the hands of the barbarians, is against the probability of its existence in his time. This argument Dörpfeld tries to turn by saying that the old temple had been so well restored as not to show any marks of injury. Another argument against the



restoration and continued existence of the old temple is drawn by Dr. W. N. Bates (*Harvard Studies*, xii. p. 319), from certain literary evidence. Lycurgus, vs. *Leocrates*, sec 81, quotes an oath taken by the Greeks before Plataea, the important part of which runs thus: καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων καὶ καταβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν ἀνοικοδομήσω παντάπασιν, ἀλλ' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις εἶσω καταλείπεσθαι τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας. If the Athenians kept this oath the old temple could not have been rebuilt. Another reference to this oath is found in Diodorus xi. 29, 1-4, where the statement is made that before the Greeks marched to Plataea they collected at the Isthmus where they decided to take an oath to preserve their unity of purpose, after which follows the oath as given in Lycurgus. Dr. Bates shows that the story of this oath goes back at least to the fourth century B.C. The same tradition is found in the Panegyric of Isocrates (156), where the Ionians are particularly commended for allowing their burnt sanctuaries to remain in ruin as a memorial of the impiety of the barbarians; not, as the orator expressly says, from any lack of means to rebuild them. If the old Athena temple were still standing at that time, is it not strange that Isocrates should not have included the Athenians in this commendation? Another piece of literary evidence is found in Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*, ch. 17. Plutarch says that Pericles proposed a decree that all the Greek cities should be invited to send delegates to Athens to deliberate about the Greek temples which the barbarians had burnt. Cobet and von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff believe that Plutarch's source for this statement is the decree of Pericles itself, which he found in the collection of Craterus. Bates argues, rightly as it seems to me, that the object of this meeting was to induce the Greek states to revoke the oath which they had sworn not to rebuild the temples. The Acropolis with its burnt ruins had come to be an offence to the Athenians, and Pericles desired to clear the ground and build a new temple. The meeting planned was never held, but the attempt to hold it seems not to have been barren of results. Bates then goes on to show from archaeological evidence that at about this time (450 B.C.) many burnt temples, as *e.g.* at Eleusis and Sunium began to be restored or rebuilt. From this it appears that the Greeks did not begin to rebuild any of the temples destroyed by the Persians before the time of Pericles (or at the earliest, of Cimon). If the old temple was not rebuilt before this, it was not rebuilt at all. This argument does not, however, mean to deny the temporary restoration of the old Athena temple to serve as a shrine

for the patron goddess of the state until the completion of the Parthenon and Erechtheum.

(2) THE OPISTHODOMOS ARGUMENT.

Undoubtedly the argument that the western chambers of the Hecatompedon are the opisthodomos named in the inscriptions and in the ancient authors constitutes the strongest support of Dörpfeld's theory. The chief objections to this argument seem to me to be the following:

(1) The fact that the term opisthodomos does not occur before 435 B.C., just at the time when the Parthenon became available as a treasure-house. It is certainly strange that the western part of the old temple with its chambers should not be unmistakably designated by this term when reference is made to it. The famous Hecatompedon inscription (*C.I.A.* iv. p. 137) contains a provision that the chambers (*οἰκήματα*) in this temple shall be opened by the treasurers. That these chambers are the western apartments of the old temple can hardly be doubted, and the provision that they shall be opened by the treasurers makes it practically certain that they contained treasures. It is open to doubt what *οἰκήματα* includes, whether the chambers marked *D*, *E* only, or also, as Dörpfeld believes, the large chamber *F*. Dörpfeld (*A.M.* xxii. 164) accepts Dittenberger's (*Hermes*, xxvi. 472) view that *οἶκημα ταμείου* in the Hecatompedon inscription must mean a store-house, but maintains that this interpretation does not affect the validity of his view that the *οἰκήματα* are treasure rooms. But the fact that the title *ὀπισθοδóμος* should not be used in designating this part of the temple is hard to explain if this name was already then its official title, and especially if, as is claimed, the bare name without further qualification was always understood to refer to this particular part of this one temple. From Dörpfeld's theory it also follows that there were no less than three opisthodomoi on the Acropolis at one and the same time; (1) the one under discussion, (2) the western portico of the Parthenon, (3) the western portico of the old temple in distinction from the adjoining chambers.

(2) The treasury documents (*C.I.A.* i. 32, 117-175; ii. 645, 655, 656) give official lists of the treasures kept in apartments designated as the pronaos, the hecatompedos, the parthenon, and the opisthodomos. The terms pronaos, hecatompedos, and parthenon are generally recognized as indicating apartments of the Parthenon, *sc.* the eastern portico, the cella, and the western chamber (parthenon

in the special sense). Now if with Dörpfeld we locate the opisthodomos in the old temple we are confronted with the difficulty that the western portico of the Parthenon, to which Dörpfeld himself would not deny the name of opisthodomos as the generic term for the rear portico of a Greek temple (see below), is nowhere mentioned in these official documents. Before the discovery of the old temple Dörpfeld himself (*A.M.* vi. (1881), p. 300) pointed out that the western portico was well suited to serve as a treasure chamber "since we know that it as well as the east portico was carefully closed with strong railings and a door reaching up to the architrave." I agree with Dörpfeld in believing that this space was too small and too public to serve as at once the treasury vault and the place of business of the treasurers of the temple (an opinion held by Frazer), but this of itself is no reason for putting the opisthodomos of the inscriptions in the old temple if there can be shown any evidence for the belief that this term may have included the western chamber (*i.e.* the parthenon proper) of the Periclean temple. To this point I return later.

(3) Dörpfeld's interpretation of the expression *ταμιενέσθω τὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς χρήματα ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀριστερά* (*C.I.A.* i. 32), as distinctly pointing to the two inner chambers in the western half of the old temple, plausible as it seems, cannot be right. The proper expression for this meaning would be *ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ οἰκήματι*, and the natural meaning of the phrase in question is "in the right hand side of the opisthodomos and in the left hand side of it" (cf. Michaelis, *Jahrb. d. k. d. arch. Inst.* xvii. p. 25).

The view that by the *ὀπισθοδόμος* is meant the western portico plus the western chamber, known also as the parthenon, is, in my opinion, confirmed by the statement of Plutarch (*Demetr.* 23), that when Demetrius Poliorcetes came to Athens the Athenians lodged him "in the opisthodomos of the Parthenon." No one believes that this refers to the open western portico alone. Dörpfeld and his followers argue, however, that the qualifying term of *the Parthenon* implies the existence of another opisthodomos. But from the context it is clear why Plutarch made this addition; he wishes to comment on the fact that this roisterous war-lord was entertained in the sacred apartment of the virgin goddess; *τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς λεγομένης ὑποδέχασθαι καὶ ξενίζειν αὐτόν, οὐ πᾶν κόσμιον ξένον οὔδ' ὥς Παρθένῳ πρῶτος ἐπισταθμεύοντα*. The extension of the term opisthodomos to include "the parthenon" is easily explained by the fact that long before the



time of Plutarch the name "Parthenon," which originally designated this western chamber, had been employed to designate the entire temple.

In so far, then, as the argument for the continued existence of the old Hecatompedon depends on showing that the ὀπισθόδομος of the inscriptions and of the literature refers to the rear chambers of the old temple, the case is not made out. In this connection we must notice briefly the theory of Curtius (*Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, pp. 135, 152) and of Professor John Williams White (already referred to above, p. 371) according to which the opisthodomos was a separate building, *sc.* the restored western part of the old temple which continued to serve its original purpose as a treasury (like the treasuries, *e.g.*, at Delphi and Delos). The opinion that the opisthodomos was a separate building is held also by Milchhöfer (see p. 371 above) and by Judeich (see p. 373 above). These views rest, as it seems to me, on an erroneous interpretation of the word ὀπισθόδομος which normally can no more mean a detached rear building than πρόδομος a front building. White's view is certainly sound when he argues that the use of the term is justifiable only for a building which originally formed the rear part of another and not for one which from the start was a separate structure and called so from its location with reference to another building.

A serious difficulty in the theory advanced by White is how to interpret the statement (Schol. Aristoph. *Plutus* 1193) that the opisthodomos lay *behind* the temple of Athena Polias, rightly supposing this temple to be the Erechtheum. He meets the difficulty by supposing that, at least in the time of the sources from which the scholiasts and the lexicographers drew their information, the *front* of the temple was thought to be at the north, and hence the opisthodomos must have lain south of the Erechtheum. This explanation not only does violence to established usage according to which the east portico is the front of a Greek temple, but also forces the expression, since the eastern wall of the supposed opisthodomos is nearly parallel with the western wall of the Erechtheum, and to a person looking at it from the north this building would hardly appear to be *behind* the other. The evidence of late scholarship and lexicographers for the existence of a separate opisthodomos is hardly to be trusted, as is manifest when we see that one calls it μέρος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, and another τόπος ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. Judeich (*Topogr.* p. 230) finds the following evidence in support of his view: (1) A fragment of a decree (*C.I.A.* i. 109) in which the opisthodomos is



taken as the point from which a direction or locality is indicated, which he thinks would naturally be a building rather than a part of it. (2) A reference to the burning of the opisthodomos in Demosthenes 24, 136. Incidentally it is to be remarked that this fire was not identical with that mentioned by Xenophon (*Hellen.* i. 6, 1), as is clear from the statement of the orator; for Demosthenes gives a list of the men of high position who had been imprisoned for offences against the state since the archonship of Euclides (403/2), and among them he mentions the two boards of treasurers who had been imprisoned on account of the fire in the opisthodomos. It follows that this fire was later than 403/2 and cannot have been identical with the fire in the ancient temple of Athena in 406 mentioned by Xenophon. (3) A passage in Lucian's *Timon* 53, in which Timon is accused of enriching himself by digging through the walls of the opisthodomos. Now it may be granted that these allusions are more suitable to a separate building than to the opisthodomos of the Parthenon, but it can hardly be claimed that they are of sufficient weight to warrant the belief in the opisthodomos as a separate building, which Judeich himself says, "uns zunächst fremd anmutet."

An argument used both for and against the view that the opisthodomos may mean the west chamber and the west portico of the Parthenon has been drawn from the localities designated in the official inventories of the treasures (cf. Lehner, *Über die Athenischen Schatzverzeichnisse des Vierten Jahrhunderts*, Strassburg, 1890). On the one hand it is argued (cf. Milchhöfer, *Philol.* liii. p. 353) that since in one and the same inventory (*C.I.A.* ii. 645) of the same year (399/8) objects are listed officially as ἐκ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος and others as ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου it cannot be that these terms refer to the same apartment. On the other hand, Petersen (*A.M.* xii. p. 69), Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke*, p. 171) and Michaelis (*Parthenon*, p. 26, and *Jahrb. d. k. d. Arch. Inst.* xvii. 1902, p. 24), in defense of their theory that both the west chamber and the west portico may be referred to by the term opisthodomos, make the following points:

Aside from the *ἱερὰ χρήματα*, the *administration* of which (ταμιεύειν) is provided for by the decree so often referred to (*i.e.* *C.I.A.* i. 32) in the west portico of the Parthenon, *sc.* the opisthodomos proper, mention is also made of moneys that were *paid out*. Now, in the accounts of the logistae given in *C.I.A.* i. 273, the following entry occurs in the year 425: τάδε παρέδωσαν οἱ ταμίαι . . . τοῖς στρατηγοῖς . . . [ἐκ τοῦ Ὀπι]σθοδόμου Δ Δ Δ.

Since all the payments mentioned in this document are presumably

made from the bureau in the opisthodomos, the fact that here special mention is made of this locality seems to indicate that it was something exceptional that so large a sum as thirty talents was kept at one time in this locality, and the implication is that treasury money was usually kept, not in the west portico, *i.e.* the opisthodomos proper, but in the adjoining chamber, *i.e.* the parthenon.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the decree of 435/4 provides that the surplus arising from the tribute should be deposited *παρὰ τοῖς ταμίαις τῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας* (*C.I.A.* i. 32, B 49), as if there were some other locality than the opisthodomos proper for the safe keeping of funds. That the treasurers had a "safe" for guarding the funds of the state goes without saying, and for such a "safe" what better room could be provided than the adjoining "parthenon." That the comparatively few *ἱερὰ χρήματα* which we find designated in the fifth century as found in the "parthenon" (*C.I.A.* i. 73-77) should alone occupy this large chamber of nearly 300 square metres area seems hardly possible. That moneys were kept in the parthenon chamber, it seems to me, cannot be denied, in view of *C.I.A.* i. 184, according to which the treasurers paid *ἐκ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἀρ[γυρ]ίου . . . χρυσίου . . . T. XXXX*. This inscription, which dates from 412/11, Dörpfeld (*A.M.* xii. p. 35) thinks refers to moneys which came into the treasury from objects formerly kept in the Parthenon which were sold to supply funds for the conduct of the war. "Man hatte so aus dem Parthenon Geld gewonnen." In this view I cannot concur.

That the use of the two names, *ὀπισθόδομος* and *Παρθενών*, in the same official document points to a distinction cannot be denied. It appears that in the inventories of the fourth century the title opisthodomos is used only during the period of the united boards of the treasurers of Athena and of the other divinities, that is to the year 385. Then came the restoration of the separate boards, which continued until 341, when the boards were again merged into one.

From a comparison of the inventories, Lehner believes that after 385/4 objects formerly inventoried as being in the opisthodomos and in the "parthenon" are henceforth stored in the Hecatompedos cella, that is, in the cella of the Parthenon. Indeed, this very inscription (*C.I.A.* ii. 645) which discriminates between opisthodomos and "parthenon," proves that this process had begun as early as 399/8. But it proves also that this distinction was a purely official one used to designate in state documents these different objects that had once been stored for a short time in these respective localities. And as the term parthenon began more and more to be applied to the

entire temple, an appellation which was in vogue as early as Demosthenes, it is easy to believe that the term opisthodomos in popular usage came to mean the parthenon chamber as well as the west portico which was so closely associated with it in the administration and guardianship of the treasures of Athena and of the other gods. The complete identification of parthenon in the restricted sense, and of the west portico with the name opisthodomos in later times is shown in the statement concerning Demetrius by Plutarch already referred to above, in which τὸν ὀπισθοδόμον τοῦ Παρθενῶνος can only mean the chamber and its portico.

Furthermore, the fact that according to the inventories (*C.I.A.* ii. 673, 675, 676) objects from "parthenon" and opisthodomos are carried into the Hecatompedos cella and there mixed together with objects kept from the start in the last named locality, gives color to the belief that these three localities were contiguous and under one roof. This inference seems warranted also by the fact that after 385 the treasures ἐν τῷ ἑκατομπέδῳ ἐκ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος and ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου, which formerly were separately inventoried, are now listed in one document (Lehner, *l.c.* p. 68).

The view here presented of the opisthodomos controversy is not free from doubt and difficulty. It is influenced especially by the consideration that the Periclean Parthenon, and still more the older structure on the foundations of which it was built, was designed to supersede the old Hecatompedon, the plan of which it so nearly follows, as the temple and treasure house of the patron goddess Athena, and that just as the western half of the old poros temple was planned to be a treasury, so the western half of the new marble Parthenon had the same purpose. I cannot therefore subscribe to the newest view of Dörpfeld (*A.M.* xxix. (1904) p. 101), who seems now to hold that the projected but never built west half of the Erechtheum was intended to take the place of the opisthodomos of the old Athena temple, and finds therein an additional reason for maintaining his original thesis for the continued existence of the old Hecatompedon. If it be granted that the Erechtheum was originally planned to be a symmetrical structure, the half of which was only erected, then much more acceptable is the view of Furtwängler (*Sitzungsb. d. Bayr. Akad.* 1904), who believes that such a structure was designed to be a double temple having a cella at the west similar to that at the east end.



## (3) THE "OLD TEMPLE" ARGUMENT.

Professor Dörpfeld argues that ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς, or ὁ παλαιὸς νεώς in the inscriptions and ancient writers refers to the Hecatompedon. Dr. Arthur S. Cooley, *A.J.A.* second series, iii. p. 349, cites and discusses all the passages in which this title is used (cf. also Jahn-Mich. *Arx Athen.* 26, 25) and believes that it refers either to the Parthenon or to the Hecatompedon. Cooley concludes his discussion of the testimony of the inscriptions and literature thus: "Much of this, as we have seen, gives us no certain data for deciding to which of the two temples in question we are to apply the epithet of the old temple of Athena. It is rather hard to believe that this term could ever have designated the Hecatompedon and later the Erechtheum. . . ." "The assumption that the Erechtheum retained the name from a predecessor on the same site must be admitted simply as a possibility, but is far from probable." Accordingly he concludes that the ancient temple which was burnt in 406 B.C. and the old temple mentioned in inscriptions of the fourth century must have been the restored Hecatompedon. Frazer, Michaelis and many others hold that the original Erechtheum was the oldest temple on the Acropolis. For this belief they find warrant in the undoubted facts that the Erechtheum was associated with the oldest legends of Athens and that the ancient wooden image of Athena, the most venerable of all her images, was preserved in the east cella of the Erechtheum, holding that it is natural to suppose that the oldest image would be associated with the oldest temple and its successor. But Dörpfeld, it will be remembered, holds that this image never left the old Athena temple, though it was intended to be placed in the east cella of the Erechtheum.

It is also to be observed that the peculiar location and plan of the Erechtheum favors strongly a remote antiquity, determined as it was by the existence of the "sacred tokens."

The question, however, immediately before us is this: does the expression ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεώς mean the Erechtheum, first the older and then the newer temple? In passing it may be observed that the title ὁ παλαιὸς νεώς need not detain us long; it occurs but once, so far as I know, and that is in the statement of Xenophon (*Hellen.* i. 6, 1) about the fire. Herein I agree with Furtwängler, who believes, in opposition to the view of Michaelis who holds that ὁ παλαιὸς νεώς refers to the old Hecatompedon, that this fire occurred in the Erechtheum and that παλαιός is used here somewhat carelessly for ἀρχαῖος.



Furtwängler doubts, rightly it seems to me, if the chance of an accident was awaited to put an end to this building. Furthermore, as Michaelis points out, ἐνεπρήσθη does not mean burn down, and, as he himself must admit, the fire appears to have extended to the adjoining Erechtheum, a fact which seems to be attested by the fragments of an inscription dated 395/4 (*C.I.A.* ii. 829, τὰ κεκαυμένα), which (if correctly restored) points to this building. That this fire in the ancient temple of Athena is not identical with the fire in the opisthodomos mentioned by Demosthenes, has already been shown above (p. 379). That this older Erechtheum is referred to in the decree passed by the Athenians in 506 against Cleomenes and his companions, recorded on a bronze slab placed ἐν πόλει παρὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον νεών (Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 273), is probable if this scholium was an excerpt from the collection of decrees made by Craterus, in which the official title would be carefully preserved. It should be remarked in addition that ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεός is an unusual term in ancient authors, occurring but once more in literature, *sc.* in Strabo, where it is more closely defined by the addition of ἡ Πολιάς and its reference to the Erechtheum cannot, I think, be doubted.

For the inscriptions in which the title ὁ ἀρχαῖος occurs, I must refer the reader to the article of Dr. Cooley cited above and to Jahn-Michaelis, *Arx Athen.* p. 65. There is one piece of evidence, however, discussed by Michaelis that deserves more particular consideration, and that is the famous Hecatompædon inscription dated 485/4 (*C.I.A.* iv. p. 137-39) found by Lolling, and discussed also by Dörpfeld, *A.M.* xv. p. 420; Körte, *Rhein. Mus.* liii. p. 247; Dittenberger, *Hermes*, xxvi. p. 473; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 166. No one will dispute that this inscription makes it clear that the title of the old Athena temple discovered by Dörpfeld was officially known as the Hecatompædon, and few will question that it strengthens his theory that the rear part of it was used as treasure chambers. Now Michaelis attempts to deduce from this inscription the following points: (1) that νεός, which according to Dörpfeld refers to the cella of the Hecatompædon, must refer to an entire temple, and to a different temple from the Hecatompædon, *sc.* to the old Athena-Erechtheum sanctuary. The simple designation ὁ νεός he believes is used here in the same way as ὁ βωμός of the great altar (cf. Jahn-Mich. *Arx Athen.* 26, 20) in distinction from other altars, and as τὸ ἄγαλμα of the old wooden image. This is a possible inference, but more than that cannot be said for it.

(2) From this inscription we gain the interesting piece of informa-

tion that the treasurers were obliged to open τὰ οἰκήματα[τὰ ἐν τῷ ἑκατ]ομπέδῳ at least three times a month for visitors who desired to look at the sacred treasures kept within. These chambers cannot of course be the cella, nor does the above expression fit the phrase μέγαρον πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένον, but it would suitably designate the two dark chambers behind the west megaron.

(3) The view of Körte (*l.c.*) who takes τὸ ἐκατόμπεδον as a τέμενος south of the peribolos of the old temple appears improbable, since in addition we have to reckon with the hundred-foot temple anyway. The word ἅπαν in the inscription is superfluous on this theory, since this word shows that we have to do with a collective designation (cf. Keil, *Anon. Argent.* p. 91) which includes everything connected with the temple.

The objection to the view that ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὺς cannot properly be used of a new structure like the Erechtheum has been frequently urged by those who hold to the view of Dörpfeld. Just when this term first came to be applied to the older Athena-Erechtheus temple is not known. But its use may imply the existence, not simply of *one* younger temple, but of any and all. Ἀρχαῖος means the *original* temple; the antithesis to νεὺς would be παλαιός. Hence ἀρχαῖος νεὺς does not necessarily designate the old Hecatompedon unless it can be shown that this was the oldest temple of Athena. The argument that since ἀρχαῖος νεὺς occurs for the first time in an inscription dating from the time of Cimon (*C.I.A.* iv. 1, p. 3, not later than 452 B.C.), therefore it must refer to the Hecatompedon as it cannot mean the Parthenon nor the Erechtheum (cf. Dörpfeld *A.M.* xxii. p. 168) is fallacious, because this distinguishing title would not be given to the Hecatompedon when the Parthenon was not yet begun, which was in 447, unless, as was said before, this title belonged to it as the original or oldest temple of Athena.

This title, then, I believe designated the predecessor of the Erechtheum as the oldest temple of Athena on the Acropolis. Could it properly pass over from the old to the new temple? It seems likely that the building of the Erechtheum, which had been interrupted by the expenditures of the Peloponnesian war, was resumed in 409. An inscription (*C.I.A.* i. 322) of this same year contains the report of the commissioners on the progress of the new Erechtheum in which the temple is not called "the old temple of Athena" but "the temple in which is the old image." Dörpfeld cites this inscription as an argument against the use of ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὺς as a fixed title for the Erechtheum. Frazer answers this objection by

saying that the commissioners could hardly designate as "old" a building which was in process of construction, and that accordingly they chose a title which at the time better accorded with the facts.

This cumbrous title was probably a temporary one; at any rate it does not occur in a single inscription after the temple was completed.

That the new Erechtheum should inherit together with the traditions and functions of the older temple, also its name, seems not only natural but almost inevitable. As an example of transference of the same name from an older to a younger building erected for the same purpose, Professor Fowler (*A.J.A.* viii. (1893) p. 13) cites the *Old South Church* of Boston, Mass. The old building, which had become too small, was superseded by a new one, which is known as the *New Old South Church*, but is popularly called the *Old South* in spite of the continued existence of the old building in a different part of the city. The same thing may be illustrated in the use of the name of the city of *Orvieto* in Italy, which is a corruption of *Urbs vetus*. The city stands on the site of the ancient Volsinii which was destroyed in 264 B.C., and the new city which succeeded it was called from the start *urbs vetus*.

#### (4) THE POLIAS ARGUMENT.

Professor Dörpfeld argues that the old temple continued to exist down to the Roman period at least, since it is mentioned by the later writers of antiquity under the title of "the temple of Athena Polias," or "the temple of the Polias." To prove his theory he must show that the current view which restricts the name "temple of Athena Polias" to the Erechtheum is incorrect, and that the Hecatompodon was the temple of Athena Polias. Let us look at the second part of this question first. The belief that this old temple of Athena was ever called that of the Polias rests, first, on a deduction drawn from the view that the Parthenon was a temple of Athena Polias, and that this new temple was designed to be the successor of the old one. In other words, the Parthenon and the Hecatompodon, according to Dörpfeld, existed side by side for many centuries, and were both called temple of Athena Polias. How were they then differentiated in name? The answer of Dörpfeld, of course, is by adding the term *ὁ ἀρχαῖος*. Here the argument is interlocked with that based on the use of these terms discussed above. Now, the discovery of the Hecatompodon inscription (cf. p. 383 above) has proved that the old Athena temple was called officially the Heca-



tompedōn, and it certainly seems strange that if these two temples were both dedicated to Athena Polias, and coexisted for so many centuries, the title ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὼς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος to distinguish the old temple from the Parthenon should so seldom occur. But this objection becomes stronger if the title Athena Polias belonged also to the Erechtheum, as we believe it did, since in this case there were three temples of Athena existing at the same time on the Acropolis, only one of which was occasionally distinguished from the rest by the title ὁ ἀρχαῖος. Dörpfeld's escape from the difficulty is to deny that the Erechtheum was ever called by this name. Frazer's way out is to deny that the Parthenon ever bore this name, and to limit its use to the Erechtheum and its predecessor which occupied the same site. This argument has been so fully stated by him (*Paus.* ii. *App.* p. 572) that it is unnecessary to do more than refer to his discussion. Cooley, in the article above referred to (*A.J.A.* second series, iii. p. 389) gives an exhaustive list of the inscriptions and passages in which the name ἡ Πολιάς occurs, and concludes from his examination that Dörpfeld is correct in holding that the Hecatompedon is the old Athena Polias temple, while he dissents from that scholar's view which claims the title of *Polias* also for the Parthenon.

Michaelis (*Jahrb. d. k. d. arch. Inst.* xvii. 1902, p. 1) and Hitzig-Blümner (*Paus.* i. p. 286) believe that the title of Athena Polias belongs exclusively to the Erechtheum and its predecessor. Judeich (*Topogr.* p. 244) holds that the name Athena Polias refers to the Erechtheum topographically, inasmuch as this title was given to this building, because Athena occupied its main cella, but that the meaning of this title was a wider one and might include other shrines of Athena. To this opinion he is led apparently by W. Wyse (*Classical Review*, xii. 145), who has shown from the inventories of treasures of the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. that the Athena Polias mentioned therein is the Athena of the Parthenon. Wyse concludes from his examination of these inscriptions that whereas the Parthenon is designated as the temple of Athena Polias, the title *ancient* temple of Athena Polias can refer only to the Erechtheum.

In studying this phase of the problem I am led to the conclusion that the title Polias or Athena Polias cannot be denied to any temple of Athena. She was the guardian of the State, *the Polias*, and as such she might receive homage at any one of her shrines. Most naturally, however, this epithet would most frequently be coupled with that temple that contained the most venerated image



of the goddess, which was, as I believe, the Erechtheum, which contained the old wooden image that had fallen down from heaven.

But it is a mistake to claim this title exclusively for either the Hecatompodon, as Cooley does, or for the Erechtheum as many others do, and Dörpfeld's theory for the continued existence of the Hecatompodon cannot, in my opinion, find any support from the supposed reference to this term in inscriptions or in ancient writers to any one temple exclusively.

To deny, with Dörpfeld, the application of the title "Polias" to the Erechtheum involves one in what seem to me insuperable difficulties. The chief of these are: first, the fact that in this case the Erechtheum is nowhere mentioned or referred to in inscriptions and in writers of the classical period, but only in later authors, and there very rarely (cf. Jahn-Mich. *Arx Athen.* 26, 25). The name Erechtheum occurs only twice, *sc.* in Pausanias and in Pseud. Plut. *Lives of the Orators*, p. 843.

A second objection is that Strabo (p. 396) in his notice of the Acropolis must have omitted any mention of this unique and beautiful building. Strabo's statement, ὁ ἀρχαῖος νεὸς ὁ τῆς Πολιάδος ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἄσβεστος λύχνος, Dörpfeld is compelled by his theory to interpret as referring to the old Athena temple, against the traditional view that the golden lamp of Callimachus was placed in the Erechtheum; and, since Pausanias (i. 26, 6) couples the lamp and the venerable image of Athena together, Dörpfeld is obliged to keep the old wooden image in the Hecatompodon (cf. *A.M.* xxii. 175). This opinion is directly contrary to the abundant evidence of the close union of Athena and Erechtheus in a joint worship—a point to which further reference will be made presently.

The entire separation of Athena from the Erechtheum in the theory of Dörpfeld leads one of its strongest defenders to observe that he has never seen any explanation for the separation of the worship of Erechtheus from that of Athena, and, being reluctant apparently to sever all connection of Athena with the east cella of the Erechtheum, to suggest that, in spite of placing the altars of Poseidon-Erechtheus, Hephaestus and Butes in the vacant east cella, the building may still have been called sometimes the temple of Athena. But why this forced concession? In order to explain those passages in which Erechtheus and Athena are manifestly united in a common sanctuary.

It is worth the while to cite a few of the most significant of these passages, for it is after all these that form the main support of the

view that the building called the Erechtheum was preeminently the temple of Athena Polias, and was the successor of an older structure dedicated on the same site to the joint worship of Athena and Erechtheus-Poseidon.

Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* ix 6, p. 741 b, in discussing the defeats of Poseidon in his contests with other divinities, says: "Here (at Athens), indeed, he even shares a temple with Athena." Cooley (*l.c.*) admits that this temple can hardly be any other than the Erechtheum, and must have been regarded in Plutarch's time as a temple of Athena. The fact that Plutarch does not use here the epithet Polias is of no significance if there are other passages in which it is clear either that the title Polias must be referred to the divinity worshipped in the east cella of the Erechtheum, or that the name Athena without Polias refers to the same locality. Both classes of passages, it seems to me, are found. For example, the priestess of Athena Polias is said by Aeschines (ii. 147, cf. also Lycurg., fr. 38) to belong to the family of the Eteobutadae; but this family furnished also the priesthood who ministered to Poseidon-Erechtheus. Notice also the following statements. Pausanias says, "When you have gone in (*i.e.* into the Erechtheum) there are altars (one) of Poseidon on which they sacrifice also to Erechtheus, and (a second) of the hero Butes, and a third of Hephaestus. And there are paintings on the walls of the Butadae." In the life of Aeschines (Westermann, *Biograph. Graeci*, p. 267, vi. "Aeschines," 2), we read as follows: αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Αἰσχίνης . . . φησὶν ὡς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ἀτρόμητος πατρίας μὲν ἦν καὶ γένους τῶν Ἐτεοβουτάδων ὅθεν ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος ἐστὶν ἡ ἱέρεια.

The two maidens called *the Arrephoroi* are said by Pausanias (i. 27, 3) to dwell not far from the temple of the Polias, and a little later Pausanias calls the priestess who lays certain duties upon them ἡ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια, the reference being to the priestess who officiates in the temple just referred to as that of the Polias. Furthermore, that these maidens had their playground and temporary abode adjoining to the Erechtheum on the west, and were connected in legend with Cecrops, whose grave and sanctuary were associated with this building, is generally held. All this goes to show that the terms Athena and Athena Polias may often be synonymous, and that the title Athena Polias must have applied to the Erechtheum. A striking union of the two names Athena Polias and Erechtheus is found in the statement of Herodotus (v. 82) that the Epidaurians in return for a gift of olive wood had to make an annual sacrifice to Athena Polias and to Erechtheus.

Other noteworthy examples of the coupling together of Erechtheus and Athena can be cited. Take for example the passage from the *Iliad* (ii. 546-552) in which the joint worship of these two divinities is most clearly indicated. Athenagoras, *Legr.* i., affords so striking a testimony that it is worth while to emphasize it. He says: ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος Ἐρεχθεὶ Ποσειδῶνι θύει καὶ Ἀγραύλῳ, Ἀθηνᾷ, καὶ Πανδρόσῳ. No one can fail to observe how this Neo-Platonist of the second century of our era combines in this statement the names of the divinities that are always associated with the Erechtheum and that Athena is one of them.

The testimony of Eustathius, *Odyss.* i. 356, who calls the οἰκουρὸς δράκων φύλαξ τῆς Πολιάδος, which Hesychius says had his home in the sanctuary of Erechtheus, that of the Scholiast on Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 758, τὸν ἱερὸν δράκοντα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸν φύλακα τοῦ ναοῦ, and that of Apollodorus (iii. 14, 6), who speaks of the grave of Erichthonios as being in the temenos of Athena, late though it be, probably preserves a well established tradition, and points to but one conclusion, and that is, the closest union of Athena and Erechtheus in worship and in a common sanctuary. Those who believe in the theory of Dörpfeld, while compelled to admit this close connection between Athena and Erechtheus, contend that nothing more is proved thereby than that the sanctuaries of these divinities were adjoining, though not under the same roof, and that the name Athena may sometimes have been applied to the Erechtheus temple, because it was originally intended to be a joint temple of Athena and Erechtheus, an intention that was never carried out.

#### (5) THE PAUSANIAS ARGUMENT.

Professor Dörpfeld formerly believed that the lacuna in the text of Pausanias, i. 24, 3, contained a description of the Hecatompedon which the traveller saw before him.

Frazer agrees with Dörpfeld in thinking that there is a lacuna in the text of Pausanias at this point, and that this would not be an inappropriate place in which to describe this temple if it still existed. It is perhaps superfluous to point out objections to this view, inasmuch as Dörpfeld has himself now abandoned it. Miss Harrison (*Myth. and Mon.* p. 492) believes that with the words "in the temple of Athena Polias" (c. xxvii.), Pausanias passes from the Erechtheum, which with its contents is described in chapter xxvi., into the old temple. This view cannot of course be made to harmonize with the belief of Dörpfeld that the old Athena image and the lamp of



Callimachus are, not in the Erechtheum where Miss Harrison puts them, but in his "old temple." Accordingly, Dörpfeld has Pausanias make his jump from the Erechtheum to the old temple not at the beginning of chapter xxvii., but at section six of the preceding chapter, with the words *ἱερὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς* (cf. *A.M.* xxii. p. 175). Incidentally it may be remarked that Miss Harrison, by supposing that Pausanias speaks of the old Athena image and the lamp of Callimachus as being in the east cella of the Erechtheum, is obliged, in order to maintain the Dörpfeld theory of the old temple, to hold that the ancient image of Athena was nothing more than a venerable curiosity, and that the east cella was nothing else than one room of several in a museum for guarding the symbols of cults of more or less obsolete significance. This remarkable view has found little favor. If, however, on independent grounds it could be shown that this old wooden statue of Athena was nothing more than a sacred heirloom, and that therefore the east cella of the Erechtheum had no function to fulfil in the cult of Athena, the peculiar construction of this cella with a window on each side of the door, lately made certain by the studies of Mr. Stevens of the American School (see p. 331 above), would lend support to the theory of Miss Harrison. But the supposed passing from the description of one building to that of another is, in my opinion, indicated in neither one of these passages.

Pausanias seems here to deal with the parts and contents of the building known as the Erechtheum and with the objects immediately connected with or adjacent to it. This description begins at *ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἴκημα Ἐρέχθειον* (i. 26, 5) and closes with the statement about the statue of an old woman servant of Lysimache (possibly two statues are referred to here according to Michaelis, *Jahrb. d. k. d. arch. Inst.* xvii. p. 85), which is said to be *πρὸς τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς*. This description includes, as I understand it, the following: the building or chamber (*οἴκημα*) called the Erechtheum with the three altars in one room, the well of sea-water in another, the figure of the trident in the rock, the most sacred statue of Athena (which of course must have had a cella), the golden lamp made by Callimachus, the sacred and precious heirlooms mentioned at the beginning of chapter xxvii., the sacred olive tree, the Pandroseum, the abode of the Arrephoroi, and last, the old handmaid of Lysimache. Before the discovery of the old temple was there ever a doubt entertained that this description plainly fitted the Erechtheum and its surroundings? The only doubt that could arise was in regard to



the order in which Pausanias saw these objects and how he distributed them in relation to the different parts of the Erechtheum. In other words, what is the route of Pausanias in and about this building? This difficult question we must now seek to answer. Upon this question there is a great variety of opinions. If we could determine where the *ἔσοδος* was by which Pausanias entered, before which stood the altar of Zeus Hypatos, and how to interpret the expression *διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἶκημα* the situation would be clear. As is known to all who have studied this question, the entrance referred to by Pausanias is understood by Petersen (*Jahrb. d. k. d. arch. Inst.* xvii. 1902, p. 59), Furtwängler, Judeich, and others, rightly, as it seems to me, to be the great door in the north portico. According to this view the altar of Zeus Hypatos is identical with the *βωμὸς τοῦ θνηχοῦ* which, according to the evidence of inscriptions (*C.I.A.* i. 322, col. i. l. 79; col. ii. l. 95) stood in the north portico. This position, however, for a Zeus altar, which one would expect to find under the open sky (*ὑπαίθριος*) is doubtful, and more probable appears to be the view of Lolling (*Topogr.* 351), who identifies this altar with the remains of one found a little east of the north portico of the Erechtheum. In the latter case the expression of Pausanias is to be taken as somewhat general. Suppose then that Pausanias enters at this door, he would find himself first in the west hall (*D*), and here accordingly, if we were to follow literally the order in his description, we should place the objects first mentioned, *sc.* the three altars and the paintings of the Butadae. This is what Petersen does. Then, says Petersen, with the words *διπλοῦν γάρ ἐστι τὸ οἶκημα* Pausanias indicates the change of room, and with the words *ὔδωρ ἐστὶν ἔνδον θαλάσσιον* he indicates the next apartment, *i.e.* *C*. Simple and natural as this order seems, it is hard to justify it in the face of certain architectural and literary evidence. Leaving out of account for the moment the disputed meaning of *διπλοῦν οἶκημα*, the evidence that underneath the west hall (*D*) there was originally a vault or reservoir, and that nowhere else can any trace of a well in the Erechtheum be found, is almost conclusive against the view of Petersen. Now the fact that Pausanias mentions first the three altars may be explained with Furtwängler as due to his partiality for anti-thesis, contrasting thereby these altars inside with that of Zeus Hypatos outside of the temple. Again, that he should speak of the *σῆμα τριαίνης*, which he must have observed through the opening in the pavement of the north porch, only after naming the three altars within is not strange; this "token" of Poseidon would be coupled

together naturally with the sea of Erechtheus. Accordingly, my own opinion inclines to the more commonly accepted view that Pausanias begins his description with the west cella *C*, to which he adds later the account of the "cult tokens" in the ante-rooms, *i.e.* the west hall *D* and the north porch. Judeich cites as a somewhat similar procedure that Pausanias, xxiv. 7, mentions the statue of Iphicrates which stood in the pronaos only after he has already described the statue of Athena within the Parthenon. The interpretation of διπλοῦν οἶκημα is a veritable crux. That οἶκημα may mean the west half of the Erechtheum as well as the whole building admits, I think, of no doubt, though, as Schubart (*Philol.* xv. 385) has shown, in Pausanias the word means commonly a whole building. In the former case διπλοῦν may mean that the west half itself is double in the sense that it has two adjoining apartments, *i.e.* *C* and *D*, or, taking the interpretation of K. Bötticher, Michaelis (*A.M.* ii. p. 24), Dümmler (Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 1955) and Körte (*Rhein. Mus.* liii. 262), that this term refers to the fact that in this part of the building there were two stories, meaning thereby that there was a crypt below the floor level. That this meaning of the word οἶκημα is possible is shown, *e.g.* by Lysias, vs. *Eratos*. 9, οἰκίδιον ἐστὶ μοι διπλοῦν, ἵσα ἔχον τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω. But if we take οἶκημα to mean the whole building, it is possible to take διπλοῦν as referring to the double nature of the temple, the east half of which was devoted to the worship of Athena Polias and the west half to that of Poseidon-Erechtheus. On the whole the interpretation of διπλοῦν οἶκημα as referring to the two apparent stories of the west half of the building commends itself as the more natural one, and is supported by the belief made almost a certainty by architectural evidence, that the salt well was in the west hall, *D*. It is probable that it is this hall that is called τὸ προστομαῖον in the inscription (*C.I.A.* i. 322, col. i. l. 71), *i.e.* the room with the well-mouth. That Pausanias puts the three altars and the paintings of the Butadae in the inner chamber, *C*, Michaelis and Judeich think is shown by a scholium on Aristides. i. 107, 5, which, in order to explain the epithet πάρεδρος as applied to Erechtheus in his relation to Athena, speaks of the painting of Erechtheus as ὀπίσω τῆς θεοῦ, which he thinks can only mean on the wall that was at the rear of the Athena Polias statue, *i.e.* the partition wall common to the chambers *B* and *C*. The effort of Petersen (*Jahrb. d. k. d. arch. Inst.* xvii. 1902, p. 63) to explain this away or to make it mean that the painting of Erechtheus was on the wall of the Polias cella, and thus immediately behind the goddess, does not commend itself. Why, one might ask,

should the painting of Erechtheus be separated from the rest of the family of Butes and be hung in a different room? Supposing, now, the route of Pausanias to be fairly clear up to this point, let us follow his course further. We next find him describing the old wooden image of Athena, the golden lamp and the heirlooms mentioned at the beginning of chapter xxvii. He is evidently in the Athena Polias cella *B*. How did he get there? The simplest route would be by an interior stairway connecting apartments *C* and *B*. But there is no evidence of any interior connection between these apartments, and a comparison with the interior of the "old temple" and of the Parthenon makes a presumption against it. He must have gone outside and entered the temple by the east portico, either by retracing his steps through the north porch and up the steps to the higher level of the east portico, or else by means of the stairway through the porch of the Maidens and around by the south side. The next object Pausanias mentions is the olive tree, the location of which immediately west of the Erechtheum is undisputed. To reach this point, supposing of course all the while that these various objects are named in the exact order in which he saw them, he must have returned to the west end of the building either along its north or south side. I am inclined to agree with Michaelis that he returned along the north side and entered the precinct of the Pandroseum and the olive tree through the small door leading out from the north porch. If this route is objected to as too much of a zigzag it may be said in reply no route following the description given in the text of Pausanias can be laid out that does not compel Pausanias to retrace his steps (cf. the route proposed by Dr. Cooley, *A.J.A.* iii. p. 368, in the interest of the Dörpfeld theory), unless we accept some means of communication in the interior between the cellas *B* and *C*.

It remains to notice briefly the two divergent views of Michaelis and Dörpfeld on the route of Pausanias.

Michaelis (*A.M.* ii. p. 15, *Jahrb. d. k. d. arch. Inst.* 1902, p. 16) places the entrance by which Pausanias goes into the Erechtheum at the small door on the east side of the Maiden-porch, and the altar of Zeus Hypatos he puts immediately east of this porch, denying that it is identical with the *βωμὸς τοῦ θυηχοῦ* in the north porch. In a later essay, "Die Bestimmung der Räume des Erechtheion" (*Jahrb. d. k. d. arch. Inst.* 1902, p. 84), Michaelis acknowledges the difficulty of placing the Zeus altar in the corner between the Erechtheum and the Hecatompodon, if the *εἶσοδος* before which



it stood is supposed to be the Maiden-porch. The other objection to the view of Michaelis is that it seems most improbable that Pausanias should speak of this narrow entrance, which could only have been a private one for the functionaries, as *the* entrance without qualification, a term much more naturally understood of either the door of the east cella or the great door of the north porch. Once within the building, Pausanias, according to Michaelis, makes his tour in the order outlined above. That he should first describe the inner cella *C* before the outer, *D*, which he reaches first, Michaelis explains by saying that Pausanias does here just what he does in his description of the Zeus temple at Olympia (v. 10 ff.), where after giving an account of the exterior, he first describes the cella and its contents, and then in connection with the votive offerings he turns back to tell what was to be seen in the pronaos (v. 12, 5). Michaelis holds that Pausanias returns from the east cella to the north porch and enters the Pandroseum through the small door west of the great entrance, when the olive tree and the altar of Zeus Herceios first meet his view. Immediately contiguous (*συνεχής*) is the temple of Pandrosos. The only important point of difference then between the view of Michaelis and mine is the location of the entrance. With the majority of scholars he believes that the description of the building begins with its characteristic feature and that this lies in the tokens of Poseidon and Erechtheus, to which the altars mentioned first of all by Pausanias in his description are so closely related. And herein lies a strong objection to the view held by Dörpfeld and his followers, who, believing that the old traveller enters from the east, are obliged to put these altars in the east cella which is separated by a wall without any doorway from "the sea of Erechtheus" and from the trident mark of Poseidon. A further objection is that the middle apartment, the cella *C*, is left wholly vacant, a fate which formerly (when these altars were put in the middle cella) befell the eastern cella. On this point Dörpfeld (*A.M.* xxii. p. 177) says: "in welcher Weise die östliche Cella, die gewiss für diesen Cult [*i.e.* of Athena Polias] bestimmt war, verwendet worden ist. entzieht sich unserer Kenntniss." From Dörpfeld's latest utterance, however, on the relation of the Erechtheum to the old Athena temple (*A.M.* xxviii. p. 468) it appears that he would place the sea of Erechtheus in the middle cella, *C*, and that he regards the next apartment, *D*, as simply a *Vorhalle*. After discussing the most recent results gained from the repairs and measurements made on the Erechtheum,



Dörpfeld, in the article referred to above, expresses himself as confirmed in his view that the Erechtheum was originally planned to be a common temple of Athena and Poseidon, to be named after the most precious object which it was to receive (ὁ νεὸς ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα). But when after its completion the old image was not carried over into the newly-built cella, but remained for obvious reasons ("begreiflicher Weise") on the place where it had stood since the earliest times, the newly-built double temple (but how was it "double" except in its original plan?) became a διπλοῦν οἶκημα of Erechtheus, in whose west cella Poseidon and in whose east cella, besides Hephaestus, also Erechtheus, the other companion (πάρεδρος) of the goddess, was honored. From Pausanias, however, it is plain that Poseidon and Erechtheus had a common altar, and it is therefore not clear what is meant in the above statement which seems to put Poseidon in one cella and Erechtheus in another.

But how all this bears upon the main thesis, which is the supposed preservation of the old Athena temple, needs to be pointed out more fully.

If it be granted that the old temple whose foundations have been identified by Dörpfeld was, as he claims, the temple of Athena Polias, and that it continued to stand until the latter part of the Roman period, then the route of Pausanias becomes more simple and natural. It is as follows: Pausanias in passing from the Propylaea to the Parthenon, follows the well-defined avenue lined on either side with statues and shrines and (i. 24, 3) finally reaches the image of Earth praying for rain, whose position is made certain by a hole cut in the rock and an inscription (Γῆς καρποφόρον κατὰ μαντείαν) north of the seventh column of the Parthenon counting from the west. Now in this same section in which this shrine is mentioned there is a lacuna in the text immediately after which we have reference to a temple, manifestly one named in the passage which is lost. Formerly it was supposed that the temple here referred to was that of Athena Ergane, but this interpretation is not tenable, since we have no evidence of the existence of such a temple, and also because Pausanias appears to be describing what he saw on the north side of the route. Hence it is believed by Dörpfeld (not, as formerly, that Pausanias gives in the lacuna a description of the old temple, cf. *A.M.* xii. 56) that at this point the sight of the altars of Aidos and Apheleia, which Eustathius says, on the authority of Pausanias, stood near (περὶ) the temple of Athena Polias, recalled to Pausanias his former remark (i. 17, 1) on the proofs of the piety

of the Athenians, and that here, besides mentioning the cult of Athena Ergane and the invention of limbless Herms, he adduces as further proofs of the extraordinary piety of the people the altars referred to by Eustathius. Accordingly, to these reference is made in the expression that follows the lacuna: *ομοῦ δὲ σφίσιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Σπονδαίων δαίμων ἐστίν*. The *ναός* then here referred to Dörpfeld supposes was named in the lacuna and was the temple of Athena Polias, *i.e.* the Hecatompedon. This is the temple, Dörpfeld thinks, which Pausanias saw as he passed by and remarked upon the statues of these abstract divinities, which, together with that of the *Σπονδαίων δαίμων*, were standing "in or near the old temple," possibly in the open porch of the opisthodomos (Cooley, *A.J.A.* second series, iii. p. 367). Accordingly, Pausanias locates the temple of Athena Polias by mentioning it in the lacuna; then, as Cooley remarks, the mere mention of the name in i. 27, 1, would suffice to indicate that he had now left the Erechtheum and entered another building. But there is a difficulty here that is hard to explain; it is that according to this theory Pausanias has already passed out of the Erechtheum at the beginning of chap. xxvi. 6, without indicating that he passes from one building to another. Or can it be fairly claimed that the opening sentence of this section (6), *ἱερὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστίν ἣ τε ἄλλη πόλις καὶ ἣ πᾶσα ὁμοίως γῆ*, gives any hint even that he has now left the Erechtheum and entered another temple? After Pausanias has described what he saw within the Erechtheum, he passed, according to Dörpfeld, to the old temple. Whether Pausanias went from the Erechtheum to this temple up the steps on the north side to the higher level, and so in front of the east end of the Erechtheum, or passed through the west hall and so up the stairway in the Maiden-porch, cannot be determined. After describing what he saw in the old temple, Pausanias next mentions the olive tree and the shrine of Pandrosos. To reach the site of these objects the old traveller would either have to return through the Erechtheum and pass through the smaller portal west of the great door in the north porch, or, what is more likely, he would have to descend from the upper level of the old temple down to the Pandroseum. For this a flight of steps would be required, which Dörpfeld supposes. In favor of this view Dörpfeld quotes the story told by Philochorus (*Frag.* 146) of the dog that entered into the temple of Athena Polias and having slipped into the Pandroseum mounted upon the altar of Herceian Zeus and there lay down. On Dörpfeld's theory the dog entered the east cella

of the old temple, ran out again, and then went down the supposed steps into the lower precinct, the Pandroseum. If, on the other hand, by the temple of Athena Polias is meant the Erechtheum (not necessarily the east cella) it is easy enough to suppose that the beast entered by the great door of the north porch, and then into the enclosure of the olive tree and the Pandroseum by the small portal west of the great door. Cooley remarks (p. 364, *l.c.*): "either explanation of the tale seems possible, and no decision is gained."

With this remark I may perhaps best close this discussion. For I would not be understood as claiming that I have disproved Dörpfeld's theory of the continued existence of the old Athena temple. My chief aim in this discussion has been to set forth the grounds of the view I have preferred to take, realizing all the while that this view is by no means free from difficulties which I have not been able to remove wholly to my own satisfaction, but which seem to me still to be less numerous and formidable than those involved in the theory of the brilliant discoverer of the structure that has been the cause of all this controversy. Finally, I venture to express the hope that the quest for the truth in this matter may be worth the while for its own sake, even if the result is not free from doubt.

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## PLAN VII.—EXPLANATION OF GENERAL PLAN OF THE ACROPOLIS

### I. References to the Numbers on the Plan of the Acropolis (Plan vii.).

1. "Beulé's Gate"; the Roman entrance, built out of marble blocks from the choregic monument of Nicias.
2. Southern gate-chamber, built of poros blocks.
3. Northern gate-chamber, roofed with a Byzantine brick vault.
4. Altar of the sixth century B.C., which seems to be *in situ*.
- 5, 5. Fine wall of poros blocks set on raking bed.
- 6, 6. Rock-cut sloping bed to receive a similar wall to that on the north side.
7. Original approach to the Acropolis. The holes cut in the rock to give foothold, at the base of the bastion, are of uncertain date. They appear to indicate the direction of the original path up the hill.
8. Piece of polygonal wall made of the native limestone, faced only on its north side, and serving as a retaining wall to path leading from the entrance up the slope.
- 9, 9. Modern stairs, mainly formed of the marble steps which formed the approach in Roman times.
10. Base of a statue inscribed with the names of the sculptors Kritios and Nesiotes.  
[Now found a little S.W. of the Agrippa pedestal.]
11. Pedestal of the statue of Agrippa, erected about 27 B.C.
- 12, 12. Stairs of Byzantine date, leading down to the well called Clepsydra; the lower part is cut in the rock.
13. Late Roman domed chamber over the Clepsydra well.
14. Remains of the poros wall of a structure earlier than the existing Propylaea, and set at a different angle.
15. Rock-cut foundations for bases of statues or altars of an earlier date than the Propylaea of Pericles.
16. Polygonal wall of a primitive bastion, built to defend the approach to the Acropolis. This early wall is buried in the podium, on which the temple of Nike Apteros stands, but it can be seen at two places where blocks of the podium have been removed.
17. Inscribed pedestal of one of the two equestrian statues of Athenian knights, which are mentioned by Pausanias.  
The other statue occupied a similar position on the north side, near the pedestal of Agrippa's statue.
18. Remains of the marble paving of the precinct of Nike.
19. Square surface of levelled rock, probably the site of the Heroon or shrine of Aegeus, who, according to Pausanias, threw himself down from the summit above this locality.
20. Modern house of the guardian of the Acropolis.
- 21, 21. Massive polygonal wall, which may have formed the southwest angle of the primitive fortress on the Acropolis.

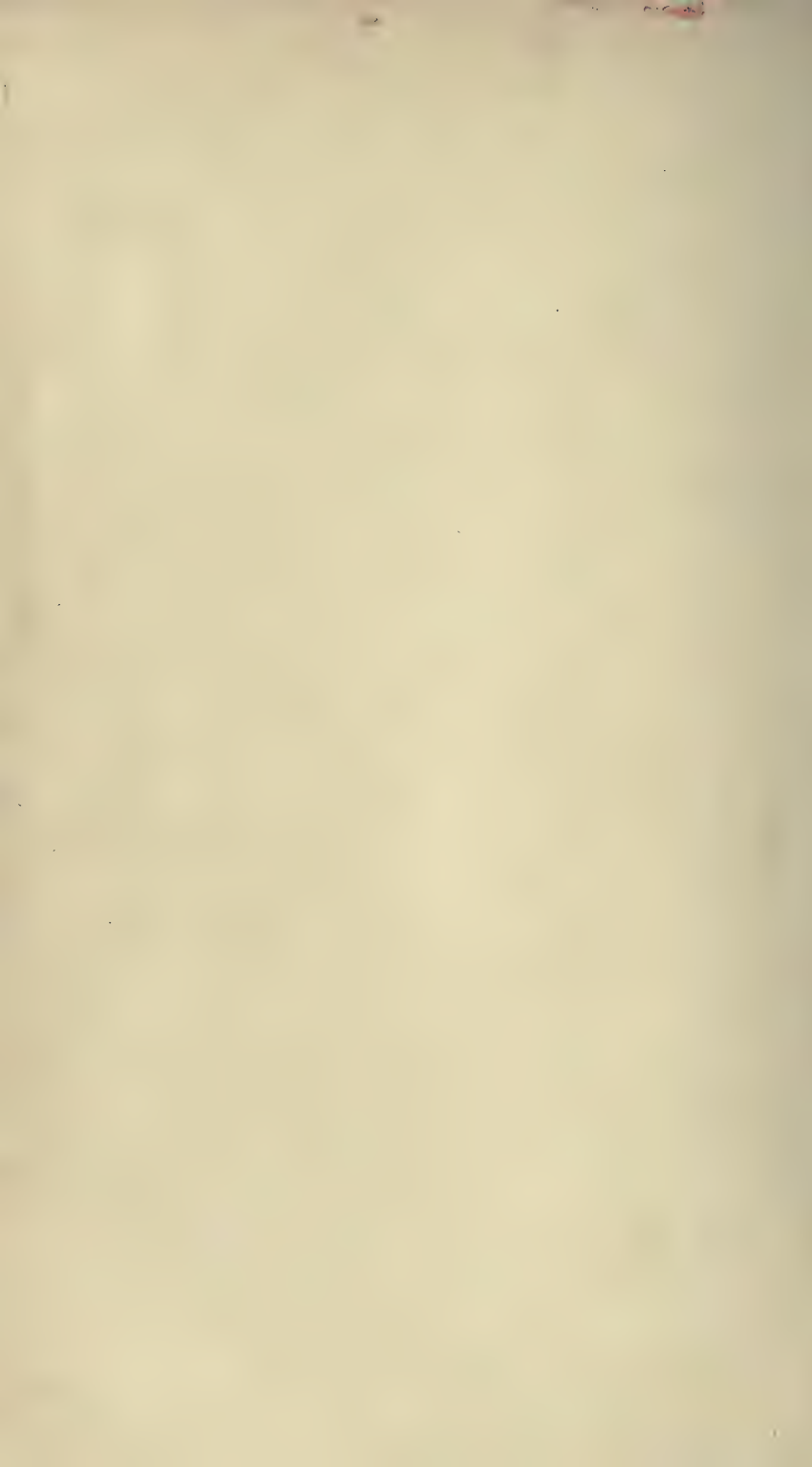
22. Remains of foundations antedating the Persian war and possibly connected with the defenses of the Propylon.
23. Well-preserved anta of the old Propylon, and marble base of a marble tripod.
24. South wing of the Propylaea of Pericles, finished on a reduced scale.
25. Marble base of a statue by Pyrrhus placed in front of the statue of Athena Hygieia, and base of what was probably a sacrificial table.
26. Marble base inscribed with a list of the agonistic victories of Kallias, not *in situ*.
27. Rock-cut foundations for part of pre-Persian Propylon.
28. The north wing of Pinakotheke of the Propylaea.
29. Water channel or culvert (it is deep down and covered in), of the fifth century B.C., built of massive blocks of poros stone.
30. Rain-water channels and cisterns of the sixth century B.C.
- 31, 31. Foundations of poros stone of a large building of the fifth century B.C.
- 32, 32. Rain-water channel cut in the rock, once covered with a stone lid.
33. Later branch channel to lead water to the Roman tank.
- 34, 34. Early road, partly rock-cut.
35. Rock levelled to receive some large base of a statue.
36. Another rock foundation, with blocks of poros stone, which were probably part of a great pedestal.  
     Either this or the foundation at 35 belonged to the colossal bronze statue of Athena Promachos by Phidias.
37. Remains of a square tower of polygonal masonry, belonging to the earliest structures on the Acropolis.
38. Flight of steps leading down to the base of the Acropolis wall, and so out towards the west. These stairs are probably the work of Cimon.
39. Modern masonry, built to block up the exit at the foot of Cimon's stairs.
40. Wall of neat poros blocks of a building resembling a stoa.
41. Place where walls of three buildings, of three different dates, and set on three axes meet together.
42. Stairs leading down to an ancient exit from the Acropolis through a subterranean rock-cut passage. This is possibly the place where the Persians entered the Acropolis in 480 B.C.
43. Best preserved piece of the wall built by Themistocles. At this place part of the entablature of the temple of Athens, which was burnt by the Persians, is built into the wall.
44. Remains of polygonal buildings, probably walls of Pelasgic houses.
45. Wall of the fifth century B.C., built of poros stone.
46. Byzantine chamber with brick vault.
47. Wall of partly polygonal masonry of the fifth century B.C.
48. Point where the wall of Themistocles joins the wall of Pericles.
49. Blocks of conglomerate stone.
50. Rock levelled to receive some structure. Middleton thinks that this structure may have been the altar of Zeus Hypsistos (Hypatos he means). But this is more likely to be placed either in the north porch, or under the open sky to the north of the Erechtheum (cf. Lolling *Topogr.* 351 and see p. 391, of the text).
51. North porch of the Erechtheum.
52. Brick cistern of Roman date, sunk through the marble paving on the north side of the Erechtheum.
53. Area excavated to a lower level to expose part of the wall of Pericles, built of very long blocks of poros stone.
54. Piece of Acropolis wall rebuilt in modern times.
55. Piece of Pericles' wall, partly built with unfinished marble drums of columns.  
     Some original slit windows exist here.

56. This shows the original flight of 12 marble steps, which led down from the higher level at the east of the Erechtheum. The present steps are modern and are not exact restorations of the old stairs, either in number or position.
57. Pit excavated to expose the marble drums of columns and steps which are built into the wall of Pericles.
58. Fragment of a very large Ionic capital made of poros stone.
59. Fragments of marble tables for offerings, votive stelae and other objects.
60. Ancient approach by a rock-cut flight of steps to the primitive royal Palace on the Acropolis.
61. Probable position of the ancient gateway at the top of the rock-cut stairs.
62. Pit excavated to expose capitals and drums of columns made of poros stone, from the Temple of Athena, which was destroyed by the Persians. These remains are built into the wall of Pericles; but the earlier portion of this wall probably dates from Themistocles.
63. Similar capitals of poros stone which are now lying on the surface of the ground.
64. 64. Remains of primitive polygonal wall.
65. Rock carefully levelled and cut to receive the S.E. angle of the peristyle of the early temple of Athena.
66. Well-preserved fragment of the peristyle wall of the early temple of Athena.
67. Two poros bases of wooden columns in the hall of the primitive "Palace of Erechtheus," below the floor of the cella of the early Temple of Athena.
68. Eastern chamber of the Erechtheum, which was probably the shrine of Athena Polias.
69. Middle chamber of the Erechtheum.
70. Western chamber of the Erechtheum, in which lay the "Sea of Erechtheus," and probably designated by the name *prostomiaion*.
71. Caryatid porch of the Erechtheum resting on the peristyle wall of the early Temple of Athena.
72. Single block still *in situ* of the top course of the peristyle of the early Temple of Athena.
73. 73. North wall of the same peristyle, which still exists to nearly its full height of from 12 to 15 feet.
74. Fragment of one of the walls of the "palace of Erechtheus."
75. Rock-cut inscription which marks the site of the statue of "Earth praying for rain," mentioned by Pausanias.
76. Inscribed fragments of the base of the statues of Conon and Timotheus mentioned by Pausanias.
77. 77. Rock-cut cisterns for storing rain-water.
78. Principal chamber or Hecatompodon of the Parthenon.
79. Western chamber, called "the parthenon."
80. Opisthodomos of the Parthenon.
- 81, 81. Parts where the marble paving is missing, so that the foundation blocks of poros stone are visible.
82. Modern staircase to the top of the Parthenon.
- 83, 83. Podium of neatly cut poros blocks belonging to the foundations of the earlier Parthenon.
84. S.E. angle of the podium of the Parthenon, which at this point is about 40 feet high above the rock.
85. Junction of the built podium with the levelled rock at the east end of the Parthenon.
86. Circular temple of Roma and Augustus, on a square podium of poros.
87. Fragments of the inscribed frieze of the Temple of Roma.

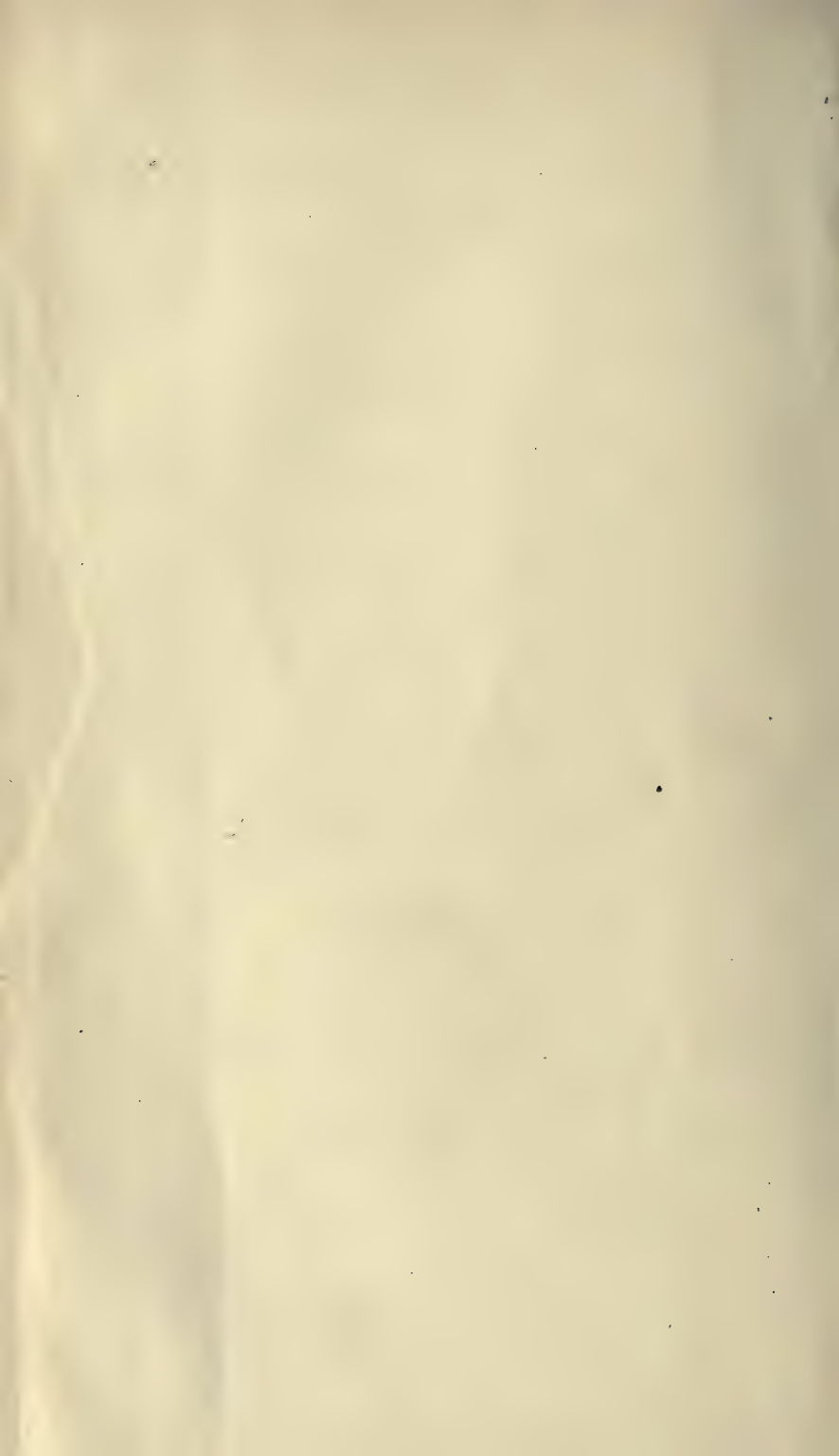
88. One of the capitals of the upper tier of Doric columns in the main cella of the Parthenon.
89. Highest point of the Acropolis rock, where the great altar of Athena probably stood.
- 90, 90. Remains of the walls on rock-cut foundations, which supported the platform on which the altar of Athena stood.
91. Holes for votive stelae.
92. Rock-cut foundations for some structure near the great altar.
93. Rock levelled to receive some other building or altar.
94. Modern octagonal belvedere.
95. Rock levelled, with perpendicular scarped faces on two sides, to receive some building of unknown use.
96. Well preserved piece of the primitive polygonal wall of defense.
97. Breach in the Acropolis wall repaired in modern times.
- 98, 98. Remains of some buildings of unknown use, constructed of neatly cut poros blocks.
99. Choregic monument of Thrasyllus.
- 100, 100. Two columns with triangular abaci to receive votive bronze tripods.
- 101, 101. Rock scarped to a curved surface, forming the back of the cavea of the Dionysiac Theatre.
102. Doric capitals of poros stone from the early temple of Athena.
103. Unfinished marble drums prepared for the earlier Parthenon.
104. Open area in front of the larger Museum.
105. Architrave of poros stone with an interesting inscription of the sixth century B.C.
106. Wall of poros stone running diagonally, not visible above the present ground level.
107. Building of poros stone now covered up. This was probably a workshop used at the time of the building of the Parthenon.
- 108, 108. Retaining wall for temporary use during the building of the Parthenon, not visible now, except at one point (100).
109. Modern pit excavated to show the angle of the massive stone platform which skirts the Acropolis wall at the S.E. angle.
110. Pit excavated to show the stairs in the fifth century retaining wall and, below it, the primitive polygonal wall.
111. Pit excavated to show the angle of a massive retaining wall of poros blocks.
112. Open pit surrounded with blocks of Karà limestone from the peristyle of the early temple of Athena and with drums from the earlier Parthenon.
113. Marble base of a colossal statue, with an inscription in beautiful letter of the fifth century B.C. [This base lies at a different angle from that given in the Plan.]
- 114, 114. Rock-cut flight of nine steps leading up to the platform at the west end of the Parthenon.
- 115, 115. Steps of poros stone inserted where the rock is wanting.
116. Marble base of a statue inscribed with the name of C. Aelius Gallus. [Not found.]
117. Rock-cut foundation for the colonnade in front of a long stoa, which was probably the Chalkotheke.
- 118, 118. Front wall of the Chalkotheke.
119. Doric capitals of poros stone from the early Temple of Athena. These capitals bear marks of the Persian fire which destroyed the chief buildings on the Acropolis.
120. Unfinished marble drum from the earlier Parthenon.
121. Rock-cut area and foundations of a long building, probably a stoa, on the east side of the precinct of Brauronian Artemis.
122. Marble blocks which belong to the base of the statue of the Trojan horse by Strongylion, see Paus. I. xxiii, 8.



123. Rock-cut steps leading up into the precinct of Brauronian Artemis, with holes for stelae along the side of the stairs.
124. Holes cut in the rock to hold 12 votive stelae.
- 125, 125. Neatly scarped rock with stepped foundations cut to receive the precinct wall of Brauronian Artemis on the north.
126. Quadrant-shaped foundation cut in the rock, probably for the pedestal of some group of sculpture.
127. A quadrangular basis that supported a statue and an altar. This statue and altar were probably connected with the worship of Athena Hygieia.
128. Block of marble, one of several, intended to keep the rain-water from flooding the corner between the Propylaea and the precinct of Artemis.
129. Existing portion of the poros wall of the precinct of Brauronian Artemis.



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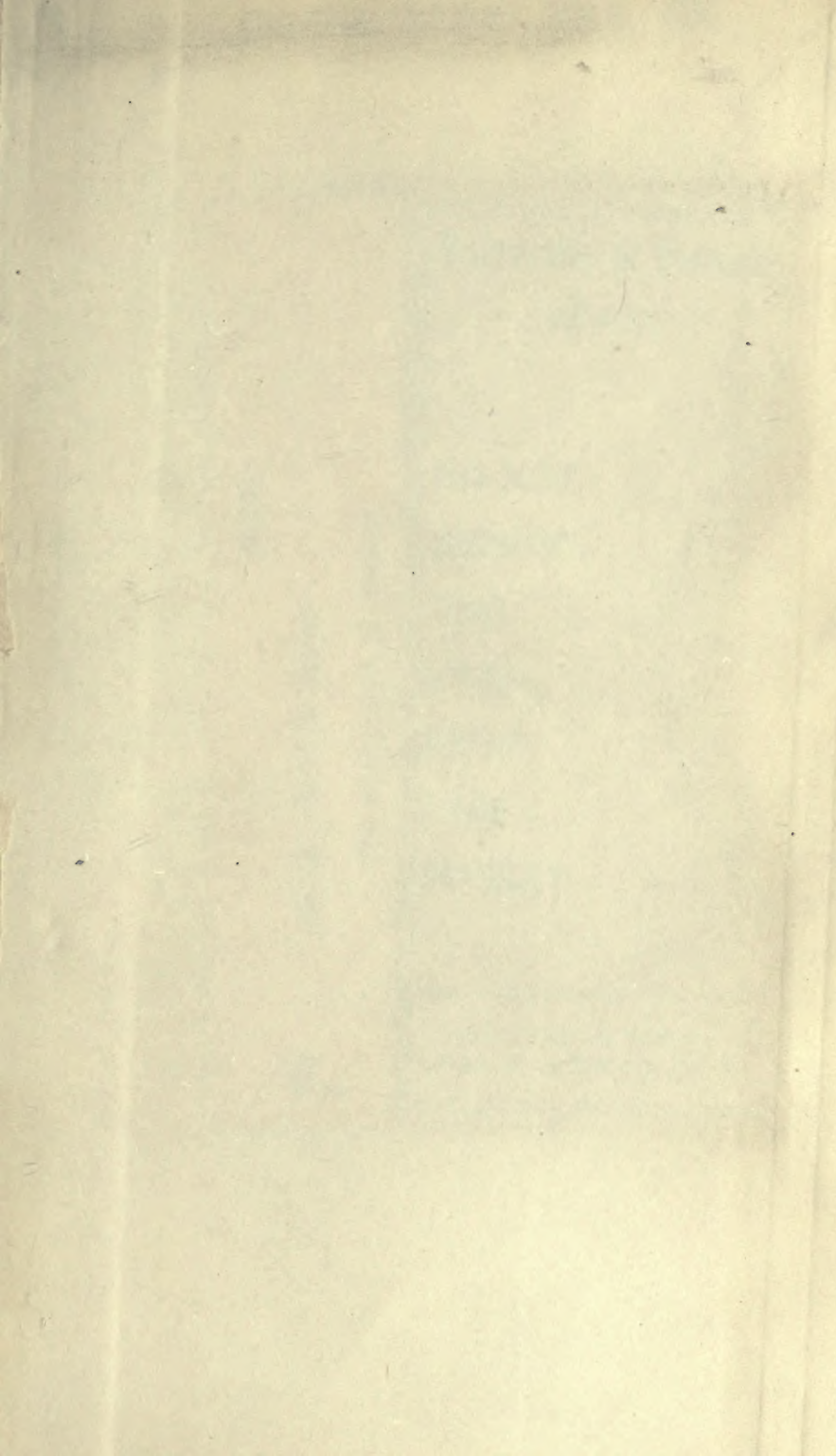
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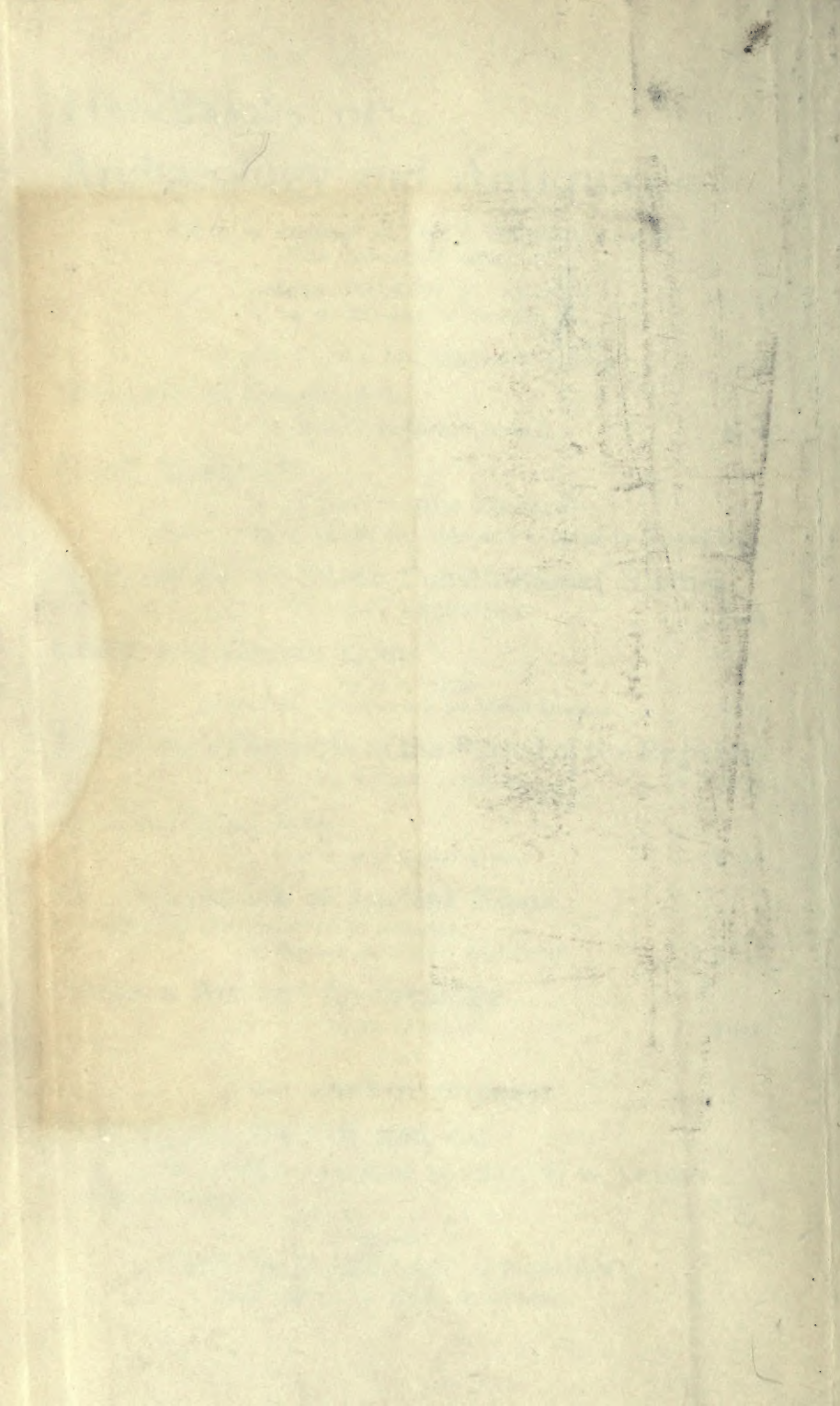
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